THE LIVING AGE

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THE LIVING AGE does not accept responsibility for the views expressed by writers of articles appearing in its pages. The aim of the Editors is to bring to readers, for their information, representative expressions of opinion throughout the world.

THE LIVING AGE. Published monthly. Publication office, New York, New York. Editorial and general offices, 420 Madison Avenue, New York City. 50c a copy. $5.00 a year. Canada, $5.50. Foreign, $6.00. Entered as second-class matter at the Post Office at New York, New York, under the Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Copyright, 1940, by The Living Age Company, Inc., New York, New York. Irvine Harvey Williams, President and Treasurer; Anne Roane, Secretary.

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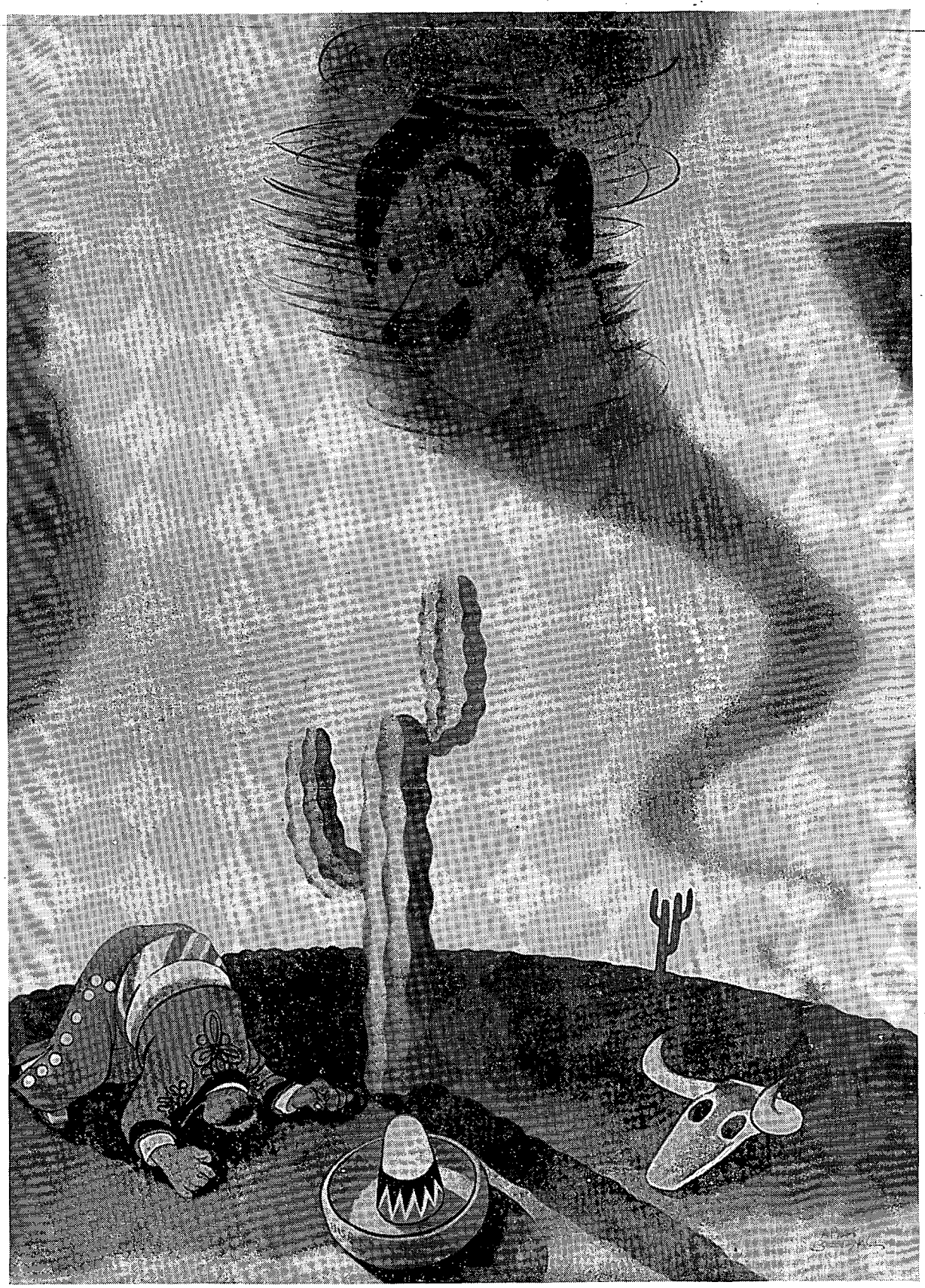

—*Hoy, Mexico*

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THE LIVING AGE

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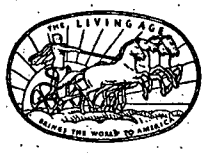

February 1941 *Volume 359, Number 4493*

The World Over

DEBATES in and out of Congress over the lend-lease bill to aid Britain have provoked lively discussion in this country over the possible effect on the war's outcome that might result from an immediate confederation of the United Kingdom and the United States, together with the Dominions, and, eventually, the colonies and provinces (save India).

For purposes of discussion, consider first its positive and possible benefits. So far as concerns the present state of the world, the first advantage in such a limited union would be its deflationary effect upon the Axis. Its effect upon the captive populations on the Continent is incalculable. Certainly it would do nothing to retard a popular uprising against Nazi oppression. The reaction in Europe to any such united front of the Anglo-Saxon peoples would, if nothing else, retard resignation and defeatism. It would make the sleep of Messrs. Hitler and Mussolini notably less tranquil.

A merger of this kind would present, obviously, enormous difficulties. We believe, as do many English people, that it will come in time. Why not immediately, in this world crisis?

The advantages that it could offer the United States are substantial. Incidentally, they might answer in part the objections of millions of Americans to unlimited aid to Britain, with no provision as to any ultimate return on an expenditure of billions of dollars and future taxes *ad infinitum* on our people. What are these possible advantages?

Physically speaking, the British Isles are of little value to us, even if they survive; systematic destruction of their facilities (ports, communication-heads, industrial installations, etc.) continues unabated. We do want, however, tariff-free access to the vast mar-

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kets of the Dominions and colonies. We want free access to their sources of tin, rubber, nickel, magnesium, gold, vegetable ivory, and a long list of other raw materials. We are an unimportant nation in maritime facilities, and Britain is still the world's greatest (despite the losses by U-boat attack). We want a more responsible interest in the British Navy, and we could doubtless save millions in projected naval construction by a joint ownership of the British and American fleets.

What else? The merger would give us a hand in eliminating colonial exploitation and abuses for which one class of the English people have been roundly damned since the late nineteenth century. Instead of repeating the hoary charges against British colonial abuses, we would have an opportunity of translating our idealism, too much of which is conversational, into deeds. Finally, we would benefit in some tangible degree by a fusion of our techniques of education.

What might be the objections voiced here to that immediate confederation? Some American labor spokesmen would protest that their wage levels would fall. It doesn't make sense, economically. No nation other than ours can turn out, as cheaply and in such number, automobiles, typewriters and all the rest of an enormous category of manufactured goods. A segment of our population, perhaps fairly large, would complain that we free Americans don't want any link again with a British monarch. Not very convincing. The time has long since passed when the British King was more than a symbol of race and culture to his people. A more knotty problem is finding a compromise between Britain's parliamentary government, which permits of the elimination of the head of government whenever the legislature so elects, and our system of electing a President for four years. There are positive benefits in both orders and, in any event, the underlying principles of rule by democratic process are identical.

What are the advantages to Britain? In this hour, they are obvious. We join forces, economically, industrially, financially, to defeat all the works of totalitarian philosophy. With a united front, the military probabilities are that we can. With the present division of effort, one is not so sure.

This may sound an appalling oversimplification. Maybe it is. But Mr. Clarence Streit's project is immeasurably more complicated and chimerical. A union between the United States and Canada is the subject of increasing discussion in the Dominion, as an article in this issue of *The Living Age* suggests. It goes without saying that the larger proposal must come from London. We would not be astonished to learn that Mr. Hopkins and Mr. Churchill had discussed the subject, and we would not be overwhelmed should Mr. Churchill in the near future release a trial balloon.

What Else for Britain?

HOWEVER much time it may take the United States to swing into capacity, or near capacity, war production, the steps we took in January, and

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the expressions voiced by Government officials from the President down, should exercise an enormous effect not only on the morale of the British people (who have shown no lack of it) but also on the spirits of the populations that Hitler holds captive. Inevitably, even in ruin-strewn London, there are some individuals who see little point in prolonging a struggle until every structure in the British Isles, as well as on the Continent, is ground into fine dust. But it is not being oversanguine to expect that, given the full degree of aid Mr. Roosevelt asks, Britain in time will defeat the Nazis. We in this country will doubtless suffer some losses, through widespread acts of sabotage, but short of the outbreak of a literal world war, involving us immediately in both great oceans, such losses may be expected to be microscopic, compared to the damage in life and material suffered by Britain, France, Poland, Belgium, Norway and the Netherlands. Our financial losses may be vast, but apparently a majority of the American people is convinced that our losses, in any long-view consideration, would be far greater should Hitler win.

From the British viewpoint, to judge by some remarks in the London newspapers, we in this country are "quibbling" when we show our opposition to granting Mr. Roosevelt the additional powers he asks; that, incidentally, is also the opinion of Secretary of State Hull, as expressed when he testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House in mid-month. So far as the lease-lend Allied aid bill is concerned, it may be argued from the British side that Mr. Roosevelt is not asking for as sweeping powers as Mr. Churchill shares—and exercises warily—with his inner war cabinet. And if it is objected, from the American side, that this point has no validity, since the United States is not (formally) at war, one may cite in rebuttal the reiterations by countless Americans that it is idle to say this nation is not at this moment an ally of Britain. Even more pertinent, perhaps, is the blunt admission by Mr. Hull that, so far as neutrality and international law are concerned, the present is no time to "stand on technical distinctions." British commentators have laid great emphasis on Mr. Hull's additional statement (in a State Department memorandum) that "it is idle [now] for us to rely on the rules of neutrality, or to feel that they afford us the slightest degree of security or protection."

The issue of how much cash or credits Britain requires from us can only be answered, at this time, by Treasury Secretary Morgenthau's statement that "when it comes to finding dollars to pay for anything like what they need [aside from purchases already contemplated], they just have not got them." Any speculations on how much will be required, either as represented by the value of what we "lease" or in actual cash outlay, is purely astral, since it is anybody's guess how long the war is to continue. The Administration is only being logical, then, when it refuses to place a "ceiling" on the billions Mr. Roosevelt may spend.

Since it is apparently futile to argue that the United States is not in the war,

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realistic consideration should be given by various Congressional committees to what further aid Britain may want of us. There are kinds of aid we may reasonably anticipate. One is the stoppage of "involuntary American aid" to Germany by means of private shipments of war supplies to Vladivostok which thence reach the Reich. The British Ministry of Economic Warfare has remarked, for example, that between last October 15 and December 15, the U. S. S. R. ordered more cotton from this country than she normally orders in a twelve-month period. "It is clear," the Ministry states, "that such Russian cotton exports [to Germany] are possible only because of Soviet imports from the United States." Similarly, the report adds, the Soviet Union is getting vastly increased supplies of oil from the United States, and that these are of direct interest to Germany.

CERTAINLY an obvious step for the United States to take, and immediately, is to forbid such exports to Vladivostok, however much that might impair our none-too-amicable relations with the U. S. S. R. Such a measure might also cause some slight trade dislocation of the business of the American exporters involved, but they could be compensated by the Government.

What else? Another obvious measure is to buy up all the production of "war minerals" of Mexico, including mercury, tungsten, molybdenum and vanadium, which are now vital to the Nazis and which reaches the Reich in increasing amounts. Be it said for this Government, an effort is already under way, by our consular representatives in the Mexican capital, to bid for the entire output of these essential products.

What else? Tanks and airplane motors. With the utmost possible speed in its construction and equipment, the Chrysler tank plant cannot begin production until next fall, and the Packard plant will not produce power units for the R. A. F., on a considerable scale, until the summer. In the view of some British technicians, however, we can utilize, far more effectively, the country's smaller machine plants for the production of parts—heretofore, the biggest contracts let by this country and by Britain have gone, almost without exception, to our large plants. Aside from such utilization, Britain will need more steel, and our plants are still not at capacity production, although not far from it.

In addition, we have surpluses of lard, canned goods and cotton, in all of which Britain is deficient. To transport these surpluses to England, ships are essential. The Maritime Commission has idle forty-seven cargo-vessels, built by the Emergency Fleet Corporation in the first World War, that could be turned over immediately to the British, even though some American operators are eager to bid for any part or all of the 414,316 tons.

Besides this, the British have not hesitated to say that they need desperately any or all of the foreign tonnage that is tied up at American wharves, because of the war—chiefly French, Dutch, Danish, Belgian, Polish and Norwegian carriers. The Wilhelmstrasse early in January made it plain

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that any such move by us would be regarded as a provocation to war but, on the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt has stated that this country would not be intimidated by any threats from the dictators. Mr. Roosevelt, in most legal opinion, would not be able to make any such move, even if he receives all the special powers he asks under the present lend-lease bill. He could make such a move were he to proclaim a state of national emergency, which at this date does not appear a remote possibility—for example, another such act of sabotage as that perpetrated at Hog Island in the last war, and one in which Nazi responsibility were to be clearly demonstrated, might very likely provoke such a declaration from the Chief Executve. It is easy to foresee that, for any spectacular act of sabotage, the Nazis would attribute criminal responsibility to the British, and probably to Mr. Churchill personally, as in the case of the torpedoing of the *Athenia* (with three hundred Americans aboard) early in the war, the sinking of ships carrying refugee children to this country, and the recent air-raids over two counties of southern Ireland.

Domestic Problems

IN THE United States the most pressing domestic problem is that of production of goods. While most attention is focused on production of war materiél, increasing interest is being aroused in the threatened shortage of general consumer goods.

The situation at the start of the defense effort was complicated by many factors. Among these we may enumerate:

1. A low index of industrial activity due to a slowly dissipating depression and to technological factors.
2. Sudden switch from peacetime to wartime economy.
3. The delays inherent in democratic processes.

These are the three residual factors in the current industrial situation, but they are all in the category of water over the dam. However, there are many situations which have come into being, or which threaten to come into being, that will create bottlenecks in industry and shortages for the consuming public, which are not in that category. These situations can, and must, be avoided by taking thought now and providing some solution for the problems posed.

Among the things we may well be called upon to meet sooner than we think, are shortages of food, clothing and housing. This may seem fantastic to a people who only six months ago were being urged to consume more food, wear more clothes and buy more homes, to save the producers of those commodities from losses or bankruptcy.

But, the cause of the danger becomes more apparent if we understand what is actually happening. Most Americans are aware, from their newspaper accounts, of the accelerated pace of the large industrial plants. Few, however, recognize the implications of a recent press association dispatch which told of a new phenomenon in rural America. This dispatch reported the formation of regional associations, created

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for the purpose of collecting data on machine capacity in hundreds of small shops in hundreds of two- and three-county areas. These regional associations will forward their data to Washington, where it will be co-ordinated and studied for the purpose of letting contracts for parts of defense articles to groups of small shops.

Soon hundreds of areas will be humming with industrial activity, where before there was only silence, or perhaps the twittering of birds. That means there will have to be man-power to run those machines. And the number of men per machine in these small shops is infinitely higher than in large plants. Most of the men available for these jobs are now living in or near the shops, and have, in the past, operated them at about 10 per cent of capacity. The other 90 per cent of the time these men were engaged in agricultural production. Now they will work 100 per cent of the time in the shops. That means a staggering loss to agriculture of a valuable part of its best and most highly trained man-power. Further, most of these shops are located in areas which are producing much-needed meats, vegetables and dairy products, not in areas which are producing the surplus farm commodities, wheat and cotton.

It behooves us, therefore, to start creating a reservoir of man-power, ready, willing and able to replace these losses. Otherwise, what with increasing demands for food by the growing United States Army (soon to number 1,500,000), the swelling ranks of defense workers with increased buying power, and foreign sources, we may be faced with more meatless, flourless, butterless days than we came to know in 1917.

The prospect may seem frightening, but it need not be if we meet the problem intelligently. It seems to us that the soundest way in which to overcome a possible farm shortage is to start training that large group of men in this country who are unemployable in defense industries. There are millions of men who cannot be fitted into our machine-production plant for various reasons, such as age, disinterest, poor health or unadaptability. Some of them are on W.P.A., or relief projects, some dependent on relatives and some aching for a job of work within their capacities.

These men (most of them city dwellers perhaps) could be trained this spring and summer against a shortage in 1942. They could be paid while in training, and most of them absorbed into farm work as fast as they became proficient. Such a plan (or any other sound one) appears preferable to the spectacle we witnessed in the first World War, of thrusting ten-thumbed city schoolboys into farm jobs that proved too much for them in spite of an heroic effort.

This program also lends itself, admirably, to the solution of the other problems—clothing and shelter. In families having two or more working members, some of these people could find jobs in rural, decentralized shops, near the farms, where a large proportion of the nation's clothing needs could be manufactured. And the third item—housing—offers the obvious solution of the availability of

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part-time home labor, and local materials.

Counterfeiting

THE world is doubtless going to be treated to a wholesale increase in counterfeiting, and in a form in which it has been used as a weapon of war. From Bogotá, Colombia, come reports of the appearance of spurious five- and ten-peso notes, of obvious German origin; according to a dispatch to the New York *Times*, "it was unlikely that their manufacture was a private venture."

Counterfeiting of notes by one nation of those of another, to wreck the value of that currency, is an ancient device, and in this respect scarcely any modern-day state is guiltless. The British and others let loose over France, near the close of the eighteenth century, a flood of fake assignats, although it may be recalled that even the genuine assignats were of little value; however, the appearance of the forgeries soon made the valid paper worthless.

France was only a degree less criminal during the period of the occupation of the Rhineland. It did not forge the rapidly depreciating German reichsmarks, but merely confiscated some of the original plates, and used these to print additional worthless notes. Strictly speaking, this may not be counterfeiting, but it is about as close to it as a government may get. A few years later, Prince Windischgraetz of Hungary was responsible for the issuance of millions of counterfeit French francs; since he was protected by the Hungarian Government, although convicted by its court, it was commonly believed in Europe at the time that Budapest had an official interest in the success of the fraud. In recent years, Italy was said to be responsible for the appearance in Ethiopia, after its subjugation, of a superabundance of worthless thalers.

If the United States enters the war, Treasury officials anticipate the introduction here of more than the average amount of counterfeit notes, since our currency has the heaviest gold backing. They might, moreover, be more difficult to detect since it may be presumed that the engraving and printing would be the work of a government, which for the present will be nameless, and not that of fallible individuals.

THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: "The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; *so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the conditions and changes of foreign countries.*"

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The new and old order can no longer exist together on the Continent

Hitler Restates His War Aims

By THEODORE SEIBERT
Völkischer Beobachter, Munich

FEW of us—probably only the Führer and those nearest to him—realized, even a year ago, the historic portent of the war which began on the morning of September 1, 1939. That a settlement with Poland was a necessary step in the development of the Greater German Reich, we all recognized, because Danzig and the Corridor were bleeding sores on the body politic of the Reich. Too, most of us felt that the increasing hostility of the Old World of the West toward the two young Axis Powers would make the struggle of Germany in Europe inevitable. But, did not the Führer assure the statesmen of Paris and London again and again, even during the last decisive days and hours, that he considers a co-existence of the old and new forms of state systems perfectly possible? Was it not feasible to hope that common sense and the urge for self-preservation would prevail in the West, as soon as the Polish source of conflagration in the East had been smothered? Should not responsible persons on the other side of Germany have been grateful in their innermost souls when Germany, by settlement of the Polish problem, gave them a way out of the political and moral blind alley into which they had been led by their weakness, short-sightedness and lack of civic courage? What normal human being, in possession of his five senses, could seriously have thought that France and England would dare undertake a struggle for a final decision against the Reich, when their encirclement strategy had been countered by the Moscow treaty of August 23, 1939, and punctured by the downfall of the Polish bastions?

The foolish delusions and lack of commonsense of the Western nations impelled their corrupt leaders (and the latter's Jewish instigators) to reject the most elementary warnings of national reason and self-preservation.

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The Western Powers not only began the decisive battle but continued it after terrific defeats in the North and West confirmed the decision of our victories in the East.

Against all laws of reason and the call of conscience, England, the last mainstay of plutocracy in Europe, continues the war, going counter to all normal human reactions and fulfilling with the implacability of ancient tragedy her own destruction in utter blindness. All England's acts are, in the deeper sense, directed to the same end. The English call upon themselves a terrible punishment by their senseless, hopeless, pitiful—in a military sense but humanly inexcusable—air attacks on the German civilian population. England places itself beyond human law by its attacks against the Red Cross on both land and sea. It loses the last sympathy of neutral states by blockading them, contrary to the rights of nations. It loses all human esteem by its policy of continuous betrayal and cynical brutality toward its former allies and friends. If the German people did not know a year ago for what they fight, England has since taught them in a hundred ways.

Thus it has been proved that co-existence of the old and the new order in Europe is impossible because the old order is now in process of complete dissolution. Its last representative, England, is like the suicide who pushes aside the life-preserver thrown to him, each time he emerges from the stormy waves, insults his would-be savior and threatens him with a clownish revenge. It is a tragic spectacle, but ludicrous and lacking grandeur.

The Führer has, in past years, given repeated assurances that National Socialism is a purely Germanic movement and not an export article. This is quite obvious; but the pluto-democratic world did not believe him because it could not understand the young National Socialist revolution of Europe. Used to thinking in imperialistic and international terms, it mistook the awakening of the German and Italian peoples for aspirations of the Napoleonic and British kind. It was upon this delusion that resistance and enmity toward the young Germany and Italy was originally based, and it was the problems from the resulting political and military attacks against the Axis Powers which forced them to radical solutions in the cases of Abyssinia,

—*Daily Sketch*, London

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Czechoslovakia, Poland, Norway, Holland and Belgium. And it was this delusion which brought the morally petrified mouthpieces of democracy—not in the warring nations alone—to the strange conclusion that their original concept of "Fascist imperialism" had been correct.

This chain of fallacious conclusions has had grave political consequences. Because of it, the New Order of Europe has not only been considerably accelerated but it is being established by other methods and in other forms than was originally planned. The National Socialist Reich had no ambition to take over far-reaching responsibilities beyond German ethnical boundaries. The Führer gave us such an immense task for generations to come, that we desired nothing beyond those frontiers—nothing but peace, order and satisfaction. Only our enemies' threats, due to ineptitude or sheer wickedness, have forced the German Reich to use its power and ability in this war even outside its own frontiers. The democratic world, having shown itself incapable of co-operation—by sabotaging instead of helping—we had reluctantly to decide to broaden the base of our edifice and to see to it that the surrounding weeds did not overgrow the new seed of Middle Europe.

THE whole world may now be sure that we will not forget the teachings of this year and its preceding events. We are coolly decided to bring about a final settlement and to establish stable conditions in Europe. We well know that many persons in many countries of the world will not like that. It would be astonishing if such a remarkable political and social order as that of the capitalist democratic-liberalism—which created the bourgeoisie—were not defended with tooth and claw, or at least with mouthings and tongue-waggings, by the classes which profit by that system. But this will not worry us, for we owe it not only to the dead of the first World War and those who have fallen during the past great year, but to our children and grandchildren to achieve the victory of the National and Socialist order, to develop it internally and establish it firmly for all time.

That is, for us, the only meaning of this war.

Why Remind Us?

Someone has written to the *Times* suggesting that this is a fit moment to recall Charles Dickens' toast, "Gentlemen, I give you America and England, and may there never be anything between us but the Atlantic." But is it? Had the toast no hidden barb? Coming from the author of *Martin Chuzzlewit* it might well, perhaps best, imply, "Thank God, there is always 3,000 miles of ocean between us." Whether any evidence on the point exists I don't know.

—"Janus" in the *Spectator*, London

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A North American Federation would prove invulnerable to all aggressors

A Canadian Asks Union With U. S.

By Jean-Charles Harvey
Le Jour, Montreal Liberal French-Language Daily

(*Editor's Note: In its issue of September 1939, a few days before the outbreak of war in Europe,* The Living Age *reprinted from the* Canadian Forum, *liberal monthly, an article by Professor W. L. McDonald, of the University of British Columbia, who proposed that without any loss in sovereignty, the Dominion's foreign policy should be linked to that of the United States. In the seventeen months since the conflict began, the idea has received increasing consideration in Canada. In the following article, the discussion is carried a step forward.*)

WITHOUT any shocks, without violence and without protests, the union of the Dominion of Canada and the United States of America has been effected in the domain of military defense. Two years ago, any Canadian suggesting such a merger would have been cried down with howls of "Treason!" But almost over night, our neighbors have become eminently respectable even in the eyes of our fiercest loyalists and our narrowest nationalists. That miracle has been achieved by reason of the feeling of common danger on both sides of the border. Today, in the Dominion, the agreement that links together the military, naval and air forces of the two countries is regarded as altogether natural and normal.

The approval of public opinion, here and in England, of this union makes me wish that this alliance, during the war and after peace comes, might become more intimate. A fraternal attitude should be expected between two nations which have been at peace for more than a century, which have never found reason for quarrelling, which have never deemed it necessary to build fortifications along the 3,000 miles of their common frontier.

The agreement between Canada and the United States, it can be seen, is

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not leading us to disaster. We have not ceased to exist as Canadians. In putting our military fortunes on a common basis, we have lost no part of our sovereignty from an international point of view.

Our diplomatic representatives abroad will represent the same ideas as their American colleagues. Similarly, our commercial measures, with respect to Japan, are identical to those taken by the United States. Would not a war declaration on the United States by Japan be followed immediately by a similar declaration by Ottawa against Tokyo? The economic and cultural life of the two nations is so intertwined that Canada, for example, could not witness a weakening of the United States without finding herself weakened, and vice versa.

Americans and Canadians, then, are inseparable. In peacetime, where our respective social machines function normally and without friction, we pay little attention to this phenomenon. But in such upheavals as that through which we are now passing, when all our intellectual powers are aroused and we are straining all our energies, we Canadians are compelled to look reality in the face, and to conform to the dictates of necessity.

We have no alternative. We must live.

Why should we not, at this juncture of the world's history, bring about a federation of the democracies that still remain free? Why not apply to those countries the federal system which has operated with such success in the United States, in Canada, Australia and elsewhere? The American federation, established long ago after much bloodshed, is today a society of 130,000,000 human beings who guarantee peace, power and progress among themselves. It is impossible to conceive of dissident movements within the American federation.

I believe that we could form, in North America, the most powerful and the richest democracy in the world. Any Canadian readily understands the advantages that would ensue from a customs union with the United States, a union which would make possible the free circulation of nationals of both countries, the unhampered exchange of capital and of trade. That union would create unprecedented prosperity on both shores of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes.

Does any Canadian exist who, in all conscience, would refuse to profit by this opportunity, a rare one in the life of any nation?

I hope that the free democracies, while maintaining their own laws, their own internal administrations, their customs and languages, will soon meet and organize a federal parliament to which each component nation will send representatives, in proportion to population. This parliament would be charged with the duty of ruling and solving all problems relating to defense, foreign policy and distribution of goods.

What could we lose? In my opinion, we could lose nothing. What might we gain? A great deal. First, we would achieve a better defense for our institutions, our liberties, our standards of living and the sum total of those possessions that we call our civilization;

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second, we would together establish the richest, most independent and irresistible human organization on the face of the globe; third, we would accelerate the economic and social development of North America, and we would acquire many of those scientific, cultural and artistic treasures which Europe is industriously destroying and which it will be our duty to replace.

CANADIANS, what do you think of this proposed union? At an hour that is grave for all of us, let us think seriously of the future. Too late, England proposed an Anglo-French federation, at a time when three-quarters of France was under the heel of the tyrant.

We citizens of North America, we who still can see and still are capable of thinking, believe that a federal union of the democracies will bring us a secure independence and prosperity. We know that the divided action of those democracies, particularly on the part of the weak nations—and Canada is among the weak—will doom us to servitude.

Quisling's 'Mein Kampf'

Shortly before the end of the year, Norway's literary sensation, and best seller, Major Vidkun Quisling's *Quisling Said*, appeared on the market. A first edition of this Norwegian equivalent of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* runs into high figures. Quisling's party, the *Nasjonal Samling*, expects much from this work. They expect it will do more to convert the public to the party's ideology than the hundreds of itinerant lecturers who seem to have indifferent success.

Quisling Said . . . says nothing new. It is a collection of Quisling's speeches and writings during the last ten years, in which he predicted the trend of events and the catastrophe which was to overtake Norway. The preface to the book was written by Dr. Lunde, the Minister of Propaganda for "new" Norway. He praises his country's Führer warmly, and states that Heaven had sent Quisling to rescue Norway from her difficulties.

But the book scarcely touches upon the only subject in which Norwegians in general are interested, *i.e.*, the events around April 9, 1940. The leading thought of the book is Norway's "struggle" against foreign propaganda. This struggle which was to liberate Norway from the "power of the international rulers in London," was led by Quisling his book asserts.

—*Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm

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Small nations have no right to freedom, the Duce's organ argues, at an odd time

Italy — Ruler of the Universe

By GIORGIO PINI

Il Popolo d'Italia, Milan

WE ARE fighting today to establish the predominance of Italy throughout the world. The ideal which guides us in this conflict is the greatest that can inspire any people. That ideal is, after we have attained power, to be the source of civilization for the entire world. A preliminary step, in the practical field, is the reorganization of Europe by Italy and Germany. This is an enormous task, awaiting statesmen, military experts, and labor. All our efforts must be devoted to the complete overthrow of the *status quo*, and there must be no relapse into the errors of Versailles, into democratic utopian dreams, or into any such hypocrisy as symbolized by the League of Nations.

We are not fighting to recreate any conglomeration of anonymous and amorphous states, without head or physiognomy. The time has long since passed when we felt heartbroken by violated frontiers. For there must be established among peoples a new hierarchy, based not on the bourgeois overlordship of capital, but on a new standard comprised of the capacity for sacrifice, of our demographic power, of labor and national intelligence.

The zealous advocates of the democracies know that they cannot turn the tables on us by exploiting our feelings of humanity. The Italian who does not believe in the future hierarchy of certain nations has been blind to our internal hierarchy as demonstrated by fascism. Whoever does not believe in Italian superiority does not believe in Italy and the revolution, and is hostile to the spirit of this war.

Rome, ruling the world at one end of the Axis, is the synthesis of all our ideals as opposed to the stink-weed of international conceptions that some people still cherish in their profound stupidity. A Europe enslaved by Britain, an Italy lost in a banal Latinity as conceived by Frenchmen, was the

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spirit of anti-Rome. These shackles must be destroyed for all time. Italian fascism must be intransigent and implacable, just as it was when it assumed all power within Italy and refused to compromise with the old parties.

But there are people who speak of the forthcoming new Europe as though it were to be a paradise on earth, an utterance which is not in key and is likely to confound simple men. We must halt the spread of this inept prediction, because there will never be paradise on earth. Particularly must we be on our guard against ideological devices in theatrical dress, which are snares of Jewish invention.

In the land of Machiavelli, there is no place for prophetic hallucinations. The Red International and the League of Nations, the Kellogg Pact and Pan-Europa, were no more than a continuation of senseless and evil fantasies, instruments employed by the plutocracies for the purpose of dominating the simple-minded and the credulous.

But the period of our naïveté, as a nation, has passed and Fascist Italy today is marching to affirm the supremacy of its Empire. As planned by the Duce, a Fascist-ized Europe will certainly be more prosperous and peaceful than was the Europe that was kept divided by the democratic hegemony. The Fascist reality of tomorrow will find expression in the exercise of Italian power in our *spazio vitale* [the Italian equivalent of *Lebensraum*]. The road we must follow is that which will lead to the undisputed predominance of the Axis, not only in the political and economic field but in the domain of traditions and of the intellect. Any other objective is rejected by Fascist Italy.

Accordingly, we must quarantine those clairvoyants of terrestrial constellations, those fairy-tale concocters with their continental and inter-continental intrigues and their policies of the self-determination of peoples, which disrupted the Continent into a hundred factions and brought satisfaction to none. They must be eliminated from the scene. A quite different conception of life is to prevail within the vital-space of the imperial powers. Emilio Canevari was altogether correct when he published his *Considerations on the Armed Forces of Tomorrow*. He says:

"Superiority in the air will be the decisive factor in the struggle. . . . A great air-force can only be created by great industrial nations, by great races. . . . Small states which have no industries, and are thus unable to create a powerful air-force, are destined to lose their economic and political independence. . . . The small powers will disappear."

This is not the time for vain remarks; it is the hour for struggle. The enemy uses all his resources. He must be defeated, because the fate of the entire world is at stake. Let us Italians reject all illusions that our ends will be easily attained. Let us banish ideas which do not correspond with the realities, and which only serve to revive the hopes of the enemy, whose defeat is inevitable.

(The foregoing article was published under the title, *The Hierarchy of Nations*.)

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A new economic experiment may solve difficulties of supply

China Fights Japan With Co-operatives

By LOWE CHUAN-HUA

GENERALISSIMO Chiang Kai-shek once declared that the basis of success in prolonged resistance against Japan is not to be found in the big cities but in the villages all over China. After the loss of her seaports and industrial centers during the first two years of war, China was confronted with the acute problem of rebuilding her industrial defense lines and of keeping up, if not increasing, production in certain industries which were indispensable to her continued resistance and her people's livelihood. While for some time it was assumed that new industrial centers might be safely developed in such interior cities as Chungking and Kunming (whence, indeed, several hundred Chinese factories have been moved since the outbreak of hostilities), the repeated bombing raids of the Japanese air force have rendered it inexpedient to encourage further this policy of erecting industrial bases at those points. To remedy this situation the Chinese Government in June 1938 inaugurated an experiment in industrial mobilization known as Chinese Industrial Co-operatives—C. I. C.

The purpose of this experiment, now rapidly expanding into a socio-economic movement, is to build up tens of thousands of small industrial units in the scattered villages to carry on production with local resources to meet civilian and military needs, to give employment to the war refugees and disabled soldiers, and to form an industrial system more or less immune from Japan's military and economic onslaught.

The co-operative project is not a novel one in China. Long before the outbreak of Sino-Japanese hostilities, thousands of rural credit co-operatives had been developed in Central and North China, particularly by the China International Famine Relief Commission. But no large-scale efforts were

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made to promote producers' co-operatives until about three years ago. The C. I. C. (sometimes called the Indusco) may be regarded as a "war baby" born of international minds. Chinese as well as foreign experts have made contributions to the C. I. C. in drawing up its original plans and regulations. Generalissimo and Madame Chiang, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Dr. H. H. Kung, Madame Sun Yat-sen, Mr. T. V. Soong, Edgar Snow, Nym Wales, Rewi Alley and Liu Kwang-pei are some of its earliest sponsors.

Organized in the summer of 1938 under the auspices of the Executive Yuan, the C. I. C. was granted an administrative fund of $500,000 and an initial capital of $5,000,000 (Chinese currency), out of which loans ranging from $500 to $30,000 would be extended to workers, artisans, war refugees and disabled soldiers to finance handicraft and small-scale industries on a co-operative basis. The initial capital fund has been reinforced by large sums of money subsequently placed at the disposal of the C. I. C. by foreign friends and Chinese banks —notably the $20,000,000 loan from the Bank of China—and so the total amount which can be used for the capitalization of producers' co-operatives has reached approximately $30,000,000.

When, in August 1938, a pioneer group of co-operative organizers left Hankow to form the first societies in Paochi (at the western terminus of the Lung-hai Railway), they found that Northwest city more or less a wartime refugee dump. Today Paochi has become a modern metropolis with sixty-seven producers' co-operatives, while the Northwest region altogether has about 700 societies with a monthly production valued at more than $4,000,000. The success of the C. I. C. in the Northwest region at once stimulated similar efforts elsewhere. Up to November 1940 no less than 2,100 societies had been formed with more than 30,000 members and some 70,000 temporary hired workers. Spread in eighteen provinces of China (including some Japanese-controlled districts), these co-operatives are turning out nearly two hundred kinds of goods —ranging from army blankets to kitchen soap—and their monthly production is fast approaching the $10,000,000 mark. So great has been the public demand for the goods these co-ops produce that many of them have already repaid their loans.

To co-ordinate the work of the ever-growing number of co-operatives, the C. I. C. has set up five regional headquarters (in the Northwest, the Southeast, the Southwest, the Szechwan-Sikong region, and Yunnan) around which seventy-two depots have now been developed to give field assistance. The depot masters are responsible to the regional headquarters, which in turn are responsible to the head office in Chungking. The head office decides on questions of policy, undertakes most of the training work, supplies peripatetic engineers and advisers, and gives organizational help to the various societies. From the five regional centers and working through the depots, co-operative organizers and engineers visit the country districts to enlist the support of the local authorities,

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survey the natural resources available for industrial production, conduct educational work among the people, and help them set up producers' societies.

TO ORGANIZE an industrial co-op is a fairly simple process. At least seven persons are required to form a co-operative, and so far the largest membership is 120—in a women's shoe-making co-op in Shaoyang, Hunan. The prospective members first come together to talk things over with a C. I. C. representative, submit their plans and a tentative budget showing how much loan would be needed to finance their project. The C. I. C. organizer then explains to them the co-operative system, the Chinese co-operative law, the C. I. C. model constitution, and gives them some descriptive literature. After the plans are approved by the depot master, accountant and engineers and if the men are found to be *bona fide* workers, then a meeting is called for the election of officers, determination of share capital, workers' remuneration, etc.

After a co-operative is formally registered with the C. I. C. authorities, it can apply for loans which are of two kinds: the long-term or five-year loans which are intended for purchasing machinery and equipment, and the short-term or one-year loans which are for use as working capital. Interest on long-term loans is fixed at 6 per cent per annum and that on short-term loans at 8 per cent, both rates being much lower than those charged by ordinary money-lenders in China. Irrespective of the size of the loans, a co-operative must offer all its assets as security, while its members are severally and collectively responsible to the C. I. C. for the money lent. All the producers' co-operatives are required to follow the accounting system worked out by the C. I. C., and must submit periodical financial reports for its inspection.

Besides its primary function as an instrument for economic readjustments, the C. I. C. movement is also making noteworthy social contributions, which are gradually supported by profits made by the societies themselves. These contributions to the hundreds of rural communities in which the co-operatives function cannot be measured by statistics alone, for to a people in the hour of distress they constitute a timely uplifting influence. Popular-education classes, public-health clinics, night schools for adults, reading rooms and libraries, primary schools for children and even nurseries have been started by many C. I. C. units not only for the benefit of the members and their families but also for the good of the public.

It is further hoped that the extension of the C. I. C. movement will, to a considerable extent, help solve the enormous refugee problem now prevailing all over China. With the equipment and materials evacuated from the Japanese-occupied areas and those newly purchased by government loans, the producers' co-operatives in the various towns and villages can gradually absorb and train large numbers of refugees to make a wide variety of articles either for their own use or for sale on a co-operative basis, thus enabling the refugees to become self-supporting.

No less useful are the producers'

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co-operatives in China's effort to rehabilitate the lives of the wounded and disabled soldiers. First tried out in Shanghai during the 1937 fighting, the co-operative form of economic rehabilitation for wounded and disabled soldiers has shown especially good results in Kiangsi where today nearly 2,000 ex-soldiers have come together to re-engage themselves in normal and peaceful pursuits. A number of spinning, weaving, printing and sewing co-operatives for disabled men have also been established in Hunan, Shensi and Kwangsi and are doing thriving business. Further impetus was given this movement in the fall of 1940 when the Friends of the Wounded Society in Chungking donated a sum of $120,000 (the first installment of a larger amount) for the specific purpose of promoting co-operatives among the wounded and disabled. In co-operation with this Society and the Chinese Red Cross Medical Relief Commission, the C. I. C. has opened five training institutes to give instruction to the men before organizing them into productive units. Three of these institutes are conducted by the Red Cross in Kweiyang, Southern Shensi and Central Hunan while the other two are run by the C. I. C. at Kweilin in Kwangsi and Luchow in Southern Szechwan. Upon graduation from these institutes, the ex-soldiers will be organized into co-operatives for spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, printing and other light work. The courageous way in which the disabled men have faced their problems and the interest they have shown in co-operative production are as amazing as they are unexpected.

Admirable examples of self-sacrifice may be found in many co-operatives now operating in the five Indusco regions of China. For men and women have joined the C. I. C. not so much for pecuniary gain as for an opportunity to help China rebuild her economic life. They are hard-working and are almost religious in their enthusiasm. Many of them—including not a few returned students—have given up well-paying jobs in the big cities to do C. I. C. work in the backward villages, chiefly because they have a deep faith in its potential values. Due to these fine examples, a greater appreciation of the dignity of labor has appeared among Chinese officials and college students, and a stronger link is being forged to bridge the gulf that has long existed between the educated and the illiterate, the fortunate and the unfortunate. Little wonder it is that the C. I. C. has been interpreted as an experiment in creative and democratic living. Said Admiral Harry E. Yarnell, chairman of the American Committee of the C. I. C. formed in New York City in September 1940:

"Chinese Industrial Co-operatives are one of the most vigorous democratic movements in the world today. There is striking contrast between the way in which Hitler, even in the years of peace, put his unemployed workers into labor armies and set them to work on projects that led to war, and the way the Chinese, being truly devoted to peace, have created a new and democratic industrial system even in the midst of war, and today, when a part of their country is held by invaders,

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are strengthening the ways of peace."

Organized, operated and largely owned by workers, the C. I. C. movement has demonstrated that it is something capable of gathering popular and nationwide support. It is, as many suggest, the shortest and most effective channel through which men and women of all sorts of background and standing can take a direct part in helping their country resist foreign aggression. This sense of belonging to a great socio-economic movement on the part of the common people is an increasing force for national solidarity. Says Rewi Alley, New Zealand advisor to the C. I. C.

"As a link for national unity that has been able to operate in eighteen provinces and seventy-two depots, the C. I. C. is a herald of the united China of the future. It embraces in its membership all manner of men. In Lanchow, Kansu, there is a Mohammedan furcuring co-operative, the chairman of which is a *mullah*, an old man with a noble white beard. He is the hardest working member in the whole co-operative and is highly thought of in Mohammedan circles. Then on the Szechwan-Tibetan border, a Living Buddha came to offer his services as adviser and assistant. In southern Shensi and southern Kansu, artisan members of a Chinese Christian church banded together and formed several production units. In southern Kiangsi, the Catholic Vincentian fathers, emulating their brothers in Nova Scotia, have done their best to advance the interests of their district co-operatives. Then the universities in Chengtu, lovers of freedom in Hongkong, Manila and elsewhere overseas, the guerillas in the Northwest and the Southeast, the refugees, the disabled soldiers, and many other sections of China's wartime community have done their utmost to push the work which all thinking people hail as a wise and necessary measure."

Remembering the ruinous frictions between orthodox and radical elements in pre-war times, students of contemporary politics in China have frequently expressed their anxiety to find a common ground on which these conflicting forces may meet in a constructive spirit and pool their energies in building up a new socio-economic structure. One of the fields in which all parties can find common ground for co-operative action lies in the industrial co-operative movement which, if unhampered by financial and personnel problems, may grow into something that will serve as a lasting factor for social tranquillity in China. "Every co-op a nucleus of the new world order in the making," says a C. I. C. slogan. Avoiding the evils of modern industrialism and striking the golden mean between capitalism and complete state control, the industrial co-operative movement may be developed so as to embody the most desirable features of the leading political trends in China today. Perhaps out of the C. I. C. a solid economic foundation for political democracy may be gradually established, and with its establishment, the cleavage between the outwardly opposing political groupings in China be narrowed considerably. If the present war, catastrophic as it seems, can bring this about, it will not have been fought in vain.

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Happily, the purpose and activities of the C. I. C. are being supported by friends of China the world over. In Manila, Melbourne, New York and London, special committees have been organized to raise funds for extending this movement. In Java, Malaya, Burma and Honolulu, though as yet without any C. I. C. committee, individual contributors and overseas Chinese organizations have been sending generous donations to the International Committee for the C. I. C. in Hongkong. Bishop R. O. Hall, who has done much for Chinese refugees, is the head of this Committee which allocates and remits to the different regional headquarters of the C. I. C. Administration. These contributions now represent one of the three largest financial sources of the movement, the other two being bank loans and subsidy from the Chinese Government.

LEST it be misunderstood, it must be added that for the C. I. C. the past few years have not always been smooth sailing. Tremendous difficulties have had to be overcome in its effort to "sell" the Indusco idea to local officials, and much educational work has had to be done to convince them, and others, that the producers' co-op would be able to solve some of the most pressing wartime problems. Opposition and jealousy on the part of the big industrialists and merchants have had to be ironed out. Loafers and racketeers have not been reluctant to take advantage of C. I. C. facilities to set up bogus societies for their own gain. Some co-operatives have been organized too hastily, and have a long way to go yet to reach a state of modest efficiency. Others have come into existence because of artificial stimulation rather than natural response. Illiteracy, lack of knowledge of modern bookkeeping, and a host of other handicaps found amongst the Chinese masses have had to be liquidated by gradual training and tedious demonstrations. Then there are the Japanese steel vultures, the indiscriminate air raids, and the frequent changes of military fronts necessitating the quick removal of everything and everybody into safe areas.

Too much must not be claimed for the C. I. C. It does not provide a new panacea for the multitudinous ills of rural China, some of which probably cannot be cured by Indusco pills. The movement is still in an infant stage of development, and although it has made phenomenal progress during its brief period of existence, it cannot be expected to work miracles overnight. While the C. I. C. as a single or isolated force cannot be expected to win the war for China, it can, in collaboration with other economic measures, do a great deal to stem the Japanese economic drive, relieve suffering and distress in the war-affected areas, and above all, give fresh hope to the homeless and the disabled. Twenty-one hundred producers' co-operatives probably constitute only a tiny spot in the total economic picture of China. But a good start has been made, and if properly directed and organized, they can eventually play a decisive role in shattering the Japanese dream of reducing China to a state of economic slavery and in helping bring about a free and prosperous nation.

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A noted woman playwright in England sees today as one of self-discovery

Living in History

By CLEMENCE DANE

THIS year of war, and especially the recent months of it, has been for a great many people a time of self-discovery. Everybody is breaking through old habits and developing new tastes. They do things they never thought they could do, and all the while are pinching themselves mentally and saying: "Is this really happening to me?"

And one of the new experiences of which people speak, here in London, and always with a certain surprise, is the sensation that they are, as they call it, "living in history." It always makes me laugh a little when I hear that phrase used because it is a sensation that I have always enjoyed, and I have been puzzled to find that so few share it with me. People say: "Oh, you write novels, don't you? But what sort of stuff do you like reading?" And when I say: "History," they stare and look rather solemn and respectful, as if I had said bimetallism or the Einstein theory. And then they say: "But I mean—what do you read for amusement?" I say meekly: "History," and then they give me up as a bad job, while I realize that, to the average man and woman, "history" is just one of those dreary subjects which they "took" at school, and thankfully forgot about as soon as they left. If you tell them that history is just nothing in the world but the story of themselves pushed back fifty years, or five hundred years, or five thousand years, they think you mad—or rather they did. But now people are finding out that history is just another word for the chronicle of life written by the generations who live it. We are suddenly aware that our daily newspapers are not chronicling historical events of the greatest importance. The daily newspaper is merely chronicling us—our lives, our ways, our fates. We are in history: we are history.

The man in the street suddenly finds

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himself arm-in-arm with all the other men in the street—the men of Mons and the men who fought at Minden, the crews of Drake's fire ships, the archers at Crecy—back, back, link by link to the far end of the chain and the men who withstood Julius Caesar on the beaches of Britain. And this sense of living in history has done something else odd and novel to the man in the street. It is turning him into a writer, a dramatist, a story-teller. Conversation, whether it is in the shop or the shelter or the drawing-room, is livelier than it has been for years. That is because everyone has some vivid, first-hand experience to relate, some tragic or humorous eye-witness anecdote to pass on. Even bores do not tell the same story twice nowadays.

And because life is so difficult and so extremely uncertain—for no one, in London at least, goes to bed quite sure that he will ever get up again—we are all, I think, enjoying things that we generally take for granted. A friend will drop in for a cup of tea, and exclaim: "What, you've got a fire?" And you say proudly: "Yes, the gas came on again this morning." Then a gleam comes into his eye, and he says: "Have you got water too?" And you say still more proudly: "Oh yes, we've had water for three days!" On which he says, hurriedly: "Could I have a bath?" and emerges twenty minutes later from the bathroom much refreshed, and you have a heart-to-heart talk about the deliciousness of soap, and you show him the new mangle, for the laundry is temporarily out of action—time bombs, which may or may not go off—and your washing-basket's lost, and you have decided to wash everything yourself in future, even sheets.

Another change the raids have made in our lives is the timetable. The "All Clear" seldom sounds before six, and it is not worth going to bed again at that hour, so you firmly forget that you once had breakfast in bed at nine as a matter of course. Instead you sit down at six-thirty to your ration of bacon and yesterday's bread, saying how good food is at that hour, and what a relief that the windows are not broken, and how uncommonly crisp and delicious London air is at that time of the morning. Then you work till twelve, lunch at twelve-thirty, sup at six, and are down in the cellar or the shelter again by nine P.M. For evening parties are out of the question, and one doesn't go to the theater because there are hardly any theaters open. We have not solved our entertainment problem yet.

BUT people who care for music can always slip into the National Gallery round about lunch time and get an hour's pleasure; for the famous pianist, Myra Hess, has for months now arranged a series of delightful concerts down in the basement. For a shilling you can listen to some of the best music in London, and you can get lunch there too. The concerts are held in that grey-papered downstairs room which used to be hung with "throw-outs" from the upper floors. When I went in a few days ago I found about a hundred people sitting peacefully listening to Purcell, English folk-

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songs, Roger Quilter's *Orpheus With His Lute*, Michael Head's *Foxgloves*, and a sheaf of Gilbert and Sullivan. The singer, Olive Groves, had a voice that made you think of skylarks over a hayfield on a summer day. She poured out the lovely, fresh tunes so happily and so easily, and it was such a rest to listen, such food for the ear and the spirit. In the middle the attendants came in and shut the great window because another raid had started, but nobody took any notice.

And as I sat listening I suddenly remembered the last time I was in that room. It was more than twenty years ago and then, too, it was wartime. I was having a furious interview with one of the heads of the Gallery, because the picture I had been copying was moved to the Portrait Gallery, which was closed, and I was a student and a nuisance, and he wouldn't let me finish my copy. However, by desperate wire-pulling I did at last "wring from him his slow leave," and after that I used to go up to the top room of the Portrait Gallery twice a week and sit copying, all by myself, among the great Elizabethans. Opposite me was the Queen with her men round her—Leicester, Essex, Raleigh, Bacon—and on the other wall hung the old lion, her father, and her unlucky mother, and all her relations and forbears. That was living in history if you like, but not more consciously than today, with the news coming in of the miraculous saving of some of the children from the torpedoed ship, and the reports of air battles over the Channel, and the bombing of Buckingham Palace.

Toward the end of the week I had the chance of getting away to the country for a night, and again the train made history in its own way by going off punctually to the minute, in spite of a raid and a war, and arriving punctual to the minute in the middle of another raid. And out I stepped onto the platform of that country halt, with the wild strawberry plants growing right onto the line, and sunflowers still bright in the stationmaster's garden.

AND once again I felt I was stepping into history—the history of the English countryside, that serene, untroubled chronical of weather and crops and returning seasons. The English countryside looks so beautiful this Autumn, and is so serenely unaware of the war. I went on to the farm for milk, and found life going on much as usual. Indeed, my doctor told me that he had called a day or two before on a farmer across the valley because he had heard that he had been bombed, and found him and his daughter hard at work, his daughter filling in the crater while he rebuilt his scattered haystack. And all he said was: "The German come down who done it; but I took no notice of him!"

On the other hand the two cottages next door to me take a deal of notice. Air battles were going on the morning I left, and you couldn't keep the women and children indoors. Indeed, it was difficult to be prudent, for the battle was very exciting to watch. There were so many planes in the sky that at one time it did seem as if the blue were seen through a cloud of midges.

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Presently came puffs of smoke high up, and then three white mushrooms suddenly appeared and began to drop down, so slowly. . . . And as they grew in size and the sun caught them they changed their aspect and reminded you of those silvery jelly-fish-like umbrellas that you see floating off the beaches and round the piers in summer. Meanwhile, the puffs of smoke elongated, and suddenly from the far height a plane swooped downward like a comet, trailing a tail of smoke. It tore across the sky in an arc, with a terrible, loud, straight sound like a trumpet-call broken off. The breaking-off came as it plunged to earth on the top of the hill, with much less noise than you would think. At the same moment a second plane came down, and dropped out of sight, but too far away for the sound of its fall to be heard.

THEN everybody—the servants, the farm hands, the children from the two cottages, the dogs and the ducks—all made one bolt over the bridge and up the hill, and I must own I should have thrown away my dignity and run too, if I had not had a train to catch. However, when I got to the station there were more dog-fights going on, and more parachutes floating earthward, but nobody to watch them but me and the porter. I wish I could convey to you the extraordinary sense of sunny quiet, of loneliness and peace which pervaded that little station, although up in the air the zooming of the planes never stopped. And in the middle of it all, in came the train, only ten minutes late, and the nice, solemn well-spoken porter helped me in with my typewriter and my dog and my bundle of michaelmas daisies, and said: "Had a good time?" And I said: "Yes, a lovely twenty-four hours. My word, isn't it a glorious morning?" And he said: "It would be if it weren't for world conditions!" and waved the train on just as a plane dropped again with a soft thud beyond the poplars. And I thought: "Yes—you, too, you're making history."

The Professors Are Glum

In a dispatch from its Berlin correspondent, the *Svenska Dagbladet* of Stockholm relays the information from Brussels that the German authorities have permitted the Belgian universities to reopen; they had been closed because of anti-Nazi demonstrations. A system has been established by which professors will be exchanged. Members of Belgian university faculties will be invited to lecture at Berlin, Vienna and Munich, while German professors will teach their subjects, chiefly philosophy and law, at Belgian seats of learning. Thus far, according to this newspaper, there have not been manifestations of much enthusiasm over the proposals from professors on either side.

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As between Italy and England, that nation makes the obvious choice

Helpless Egypt Looks to Britain

By ARTHUR SETTEL

THE victories of Britain's heroic Anzac troops in the Western Desert and more recently in Italian Libya and Eritrea, focuses attention upon the Nile Valley, the Egyptian people and the story of Anglo-Egyptian relations, an understanding of which is indispensable to the intelligent student of this Second World War.

Egypt is a country of 16,500,000 people of whom over 1,500,000 are concentrated in Cairo and another 1,750,000 in Alexandria and Port Said, the rest being scattered over an area that roughly approximates the combined size of Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado. It is a country in which you will have to look hard to find an unoccupied foot of soil except in the desert, of course, for the population density of Egypt is the greatest on earth. An area equal to the size of Massachusetts and Connecticut is capable of supporting a fixed population. Egypt is a country so fertile that, with the aid of the most elaborate and well-developed irrigation system in the world, it can produce one crop after another all year round.

So strategically situated is this country that it has been since the world began the very hub and center of civilized commerce. It is the country of the Pharaohs, the country of cotton, the country without hills, the country that drinks the milk of buffaloes, called *gamooz* cows, the country where food is so cheap and plentiful that a man can support a family of six on the equivalent of 20 cents a day, a country where it almost never rains, the country that lives off the Nile and would perish without the Nile, the country of barrages and the annual flood and the passion trees and the deserts and the gorgeous fauna and rare species of birds and beasts, the country of evergreen political crises.

Egypt is the country in which the sun is so strong that men plant trees

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solely for their shade; a country in which life is so cheap that a blood-feud murderer is liable to a maximum sentence of only seven years; a country in which the women are always together under the sun, their faces scorched by its rays almost to match their veils.

If you can imagine Egypt of the *fellahe'en* (peasantry) with Cairo and Alexandria and Port Said very remote points in a triangle—the Delta—if you can see Egypt of the cotton fields and the Western Desert and the Blue Nile and the Red Sea fishing boats and the Coptic churches and the copper-smith bazaars and the Mixed Courts and an oversupply of Government officials and political parties and Al-Azhar University and *baksheesh*; if you can visualize these variegated, tantalizing Egypts, each with a personality of its own, each with a voice all its own, then turn your eyes eastward, span the oceans and stop over the "diamond stud in the handle of the fan, the Delta"—Cairo, where East and West meet, embrace with fond affection and then not infrequently stab each other in the back.

The 10 per cent of Egypt's population that is literate was startled into a sudden state of emergency when, on October 2, 1935, Italian troops marched into Ethiopia and showed every intention of remaining there. It was noted in Cairo that the Egyptian army, eleven battalions strong and consisting of a mere 600 officers with 13,000 other ranks in all, couldn't stand up against Mussolini's black-shirted legions for forty-eight hours in the event of an attack upon Egypt.

Fear hung in the air at Cairo as editors wept inky tears. Those who knew how to read were horrified when informed that the 383,000 square miles which comprised the northeast shoulder of the African continent known as Egypt were not only vulnerable, but that the Italian High Command figured on annexing the country in order to fill out the moth-eaten map of her new empire. And quite as suddenly was it found that England, with all of her faults, was preferable to Italy as master.

THE thought was disconcerting, incredible. Egyptians asked whether Italian infantry could hurtle the 400 miles of sand sea between Cyrenaica and the Western Desert; they wondered whether Italian invaders could possibly get a toehold in the Kafra Oasis of Tripoli, replenish their supplies in Darfour, mobilize the Bahr-el-Ghazal provincials and force their way into Egypt via the Sudan. Newspaper philosophers speculated on the possible historic parallels Mussolini would make if he could seize the 12,500 square miles of Delta segment which had been translated into 7,667,000 acres of fertility. The lounge lizards of the coffee-shops turned from petty internal politics to war talk. The Egyptian Navy, consisting of a few gunboats used chiefly for coast guard purposes, was laughed at and even the British Fleet, that "sure shield," received its full share of ironical comment. "Do you want to see the Egyptian Air Force?" someone was asked. "Yes," he said. "Where?" A nest of flies dispersed under the onslaught of

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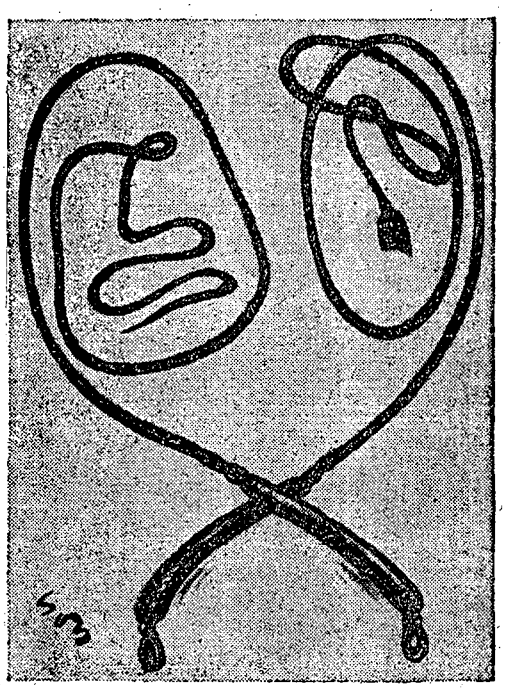
a fly whisk. "There!" was the retort.

It was also discovered that the 20,000 British troops garrisoning the Nile Valley couldn't defend the country against sudden attack; that the country's 2,725 miles of railroad track and 5,031 miles of roads and 960 miles of rivers were woefully inadequate for affording a mechanized army mobility in case of emergency. Even the Government was whipped out of its torpor and began to look at the country as though here was something it had never seen before.

They discovered that Egypt had become the nodal point in a network of air lines operated by England's semi-military Imperial Airways—a powerful temptation to the Roman imperial appetite. They saw the 4,800-mile route to India and the 7,923-mile route to South Africa hinged on Egyptian aerodromes. They saw that by 1938 there would be ten air services in each direction, giving Egypt a vitally important place in transcontinental and transoceanic travel. They saw a $500,000,000 cotton crop; they saw the Suez Canal, vital link in the British lifeline. They saw, moreover, the vast wealth, residue of history, which lay tempting international highwaymen in the cities of Cairo, Port Said and Alexandria.



—*Aufbau*, New York

A shiver went through Egypt, the country which had been for half a century the bad little boy of the British Empire, the nightmare of Gladstone and Salisbury, the tripping block to Lloyd-George amid his triumphs at Versailles, almost the cause of war between Great Britain and France at Fashoda—now in a position to shake off her shackles. But did Egypt want her freedom? Would freedom not invite conquest by Italy?

There followed conferences without end and a spirited exchange of notes between London and Cairo. The British Mediterranean Fleet anchored off Alexandria. British troops were ordered to stand by for action. Both Protector and Protectorate were in a dilemma.

It is essential at this point to turn back the pages of history. It was June 1798. Youthful General Bonaparte, just beginning to be the worm in the rose of Pitt, lifted anchor at Toulon and headed for Alexandria in order to cut British communications with the East. Nelson won the Battle of the Nile. Sidney Smith was the hero in the defense of Acre. And since that day the British and French never forgot

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the vital importance of Egypt. Europe awoke to the fact that the nation in possession of Egypt held the key to the East and to Africa. Paris and London glared at each other with daggers drawn. When the third Napoleon's master engineer dug a canal through Suez, Egypt became much more than a place to write postal cards about. She became an indispensable link in the line of British communications with India.

It happened at this time that the Prince of Egypt, who represented the Turkish Sultan (the former was called the Khedive), held most of the shares in the Suez Canal Company. A shrewd politician in England named Disraeli learned in the usual way that the Khedive was broke. He succeeded in purchasing the latter's 176,000 shares in the Canal for Great Britain (at $20,000,000), and the rest is history.

The next step in consolidating control over Egypt was taken, with reluctance, by Gladstone. A young colonel in the Khedive's army, the son of an unknown village sheikh named Ahmed Bey Arabi, could not tolerate having his country become the plaything of an imperial power, and least of all the British Empire. He led a revolt. It was a success, and had he been left alone or assisted in his task of reform, he might have made good. But a military counter-revolt which within one year had all power in its leaders' hands and brought the Khedive himself to prison, was too dangerous a threat and too good an opportunity.

The success of Arabi was precisely what the British needed. Much against his will, Gladstone was persuaded that Arabi was not struggling for the freedom of Egypt but was inspired by cussedness. Just as Gladstone was converted to the idea of intervening in the Egyptian imbroglio as luck would have it, a non-interventionist government came into power in Paris. The path was open. Egypt was powerless to offer resistance. France would not interfere. The British Army was ordered to march.

The Occupation was the strangest in history. The British Agent and the Sirdar were aliens and as such they ruled the country, without fuss or formality. The Agent, for many years in the person of Cromer, whispered advice into the Khedive's ear. The Sirdar, in the person of Kitchener and his Army, were only visitors, ostensibly in Egypt to see the Pyramids. But Kitchener and Cromer paid no attention either to theories or to the Pyramids. The former conquered the Sudan, crushing the dervishes there, and adding to the Empire a million square miles and a country from which the entire water supply of Egypt can be controlled. And the Pyramids proved so interesting that Kitchener declined to leave. Tommy Atkins in England took it for granted that it was up to him to defend Egypt and he has been defending it ever since.

BY 1914, pretences could no longer be kept up. Britain was to fight Turkey. Egypt was placed under the guardianship of His Britannic Majesty and the country was declared a protectorate.

The *fellahe'en* were furious; first, because they had nothing against Mos-

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lem Turkey and had no desire to fight. Second, as redoubtable warriors themselves they hated the humiliation of having to scrub mules for the British Army.

Loud cries of protest were heard. The Denshawi debates were recalled. A speech by Gladstone in 1891 on the Newcastle program in which he laid it down that the Occupation of Egypt was temporary and should be terminated, was dug out of the archives. Other voices pointed out that Englishmen had come to Egypt in order to "study, teach and observe" but that British officials—after years in Cairo —spoke bad Levantine French and never more than a few words of Arabic; that the condition of the *fellahe'en* was deplorable; that the development of free institutions and of justice in the Nile Valley was far behind what was obtained in other British colonies; that Egypt was proud of her antiquities and felt capable of self-determination; that the masses wanted to be treated as equals; that the native intelligentsia resented having to pay for the upkeep of the garrison; in short, that the country wanted its freedom.

Objections availed little. The *fellahe'en* continued to scrub mules, Englishmen continued to speak bad Levantine French; expenses of the British Army were met out of the Royal Egyptian Treasury; the Sultan vanished; the Khedive became an interesting historical curiosity. The whole system was altered, tightened. Out of the feeling of depression that gripped the country, a new independence movement was born, the spirit of the liberator Arabi was revived and the nationalist Wafd party was born.

From the shadow of obscurity there emerged a leader who was to become the modern savior of Egypt. He was Zaghlul, a tall, thin individual who laughed a great deal and who, although extremely poor, enjoyed life immensely. He was a peasant of humble origin with a talent for oratory in the language of the holy Koran. His passionate eloquence moved crowds to enthusiasm, and twice the British were forced to send him into exile. Together with three other nationalist leaders—Hamid el Bassul, Ismail Sidky and Mohammed Mahmoud Pasha, Zaghlul was imprisoned in Malta where all four of them ruined their health.

The Exile-of-the-Four—the thought of which still makes good patriots wince—proved no simple matter. Zaghlul's followers rebelled, to the astonishment of the Foreign Office, and openly defied British authority. Telephone wires were cut, railway bridges were blown up, railroads mined. Englishmen were murdered. It was feared the trouble might spread to the Middle East and even to India.

The Foreign Office decided that something had to be done. It assigned its crack soldier, Allenby, who knew the Arabs if anybody knew them, a man who had conquered Palestine for

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England and, with the aid of Lawrence, had added a vast empire to Britain. But instead of fighting, Allenby held conferences. He examined the position in Egypt, talked with peasants and with pashas, observed, read, wandered among the common people. And he saw that many of the nationalist demands were justified.

Allenby put down the disorders. But at the same time he formulated the policy under which England was to govern the distressed country—a policy which was to become the basis of subsequent treaties and which is today the keystone to the British defense of Egypt against Italian invasion. Allenby pledged the British Government to "develop a system of self-government for Egypt under Egyptian rule." In 1922, Britain implemented the pledge, declaring Egypt an "independent" kingdom and elevating the Sultan to the throne. Four reservations—the celebrated "four points"—destined to bring about rioting and bloodshed for fourteen years, were defined.

"We must," said the British Foreign Office, "keep our communications safe; we must defend Egypt from outside aggression; we must protect foreigners and foreign interests in Egypt, and we must look after the Sudan." For this purpose the British forces garrisoned in Egypt would have to remain.

Zaghlul, now back from his exile, was furious. He was angry enough to frighten the British authorities who tried to buy him off with a premiership, a post which carries prestige and emolument. But no gilded scepter was going to assuage the injured pride of Zaghlul. He continued to deliver inciting speeches; the British listened gravely but did nothing.

TWO men, who are given credit for the 1936 Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between Britain and Egypt, put their heads together and decided that fresh attempts would be made to come to an understanding. One was Sir Miles Lampson, affable, towering British Ambassador and formerly High Commissioner of Egypt, and Nahas Pasha, generalissimo of the Wafd political machine, thrice Prime Minister and avowed admirer of things totalitarian.

Italy was knocking loudly at Egypt's door and things were happening to upset the smoothly self-centered way of the Nile Valley. The world focused eyes upon the Suez Canal. London became desperately eager to reach a final settlement with the Egyptians and the latter, disliking Mussolini intensely, were prepared themselves to make reasonable concessions.

With much fanfare the Treaty was initialled in London with England winning out on most of her original points.

The personality of Nahas Pasha, egocentric, fanatical in his hunger for power, lavish with promises for reform, dominated the country during the next two eventful years—years which should have been devoted to upbuilding and rearmament. The Wafd machine which claimed credit for ending the hated Capitulations as well as for the Treaty, now put forward an elaborate program for industrial and agricultural development. British officials were to be replaced with Egyp-

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tians wherever feasible. The Army was to be reorganized. A fleet was to be built and a great air armada establish.

Opposition which had bent backward in an effort to co-operate with the Administration so that the Treaty could be consummated without delay, now spoke out, and the youthful King Farouk, whose prestige was mounting each hour, aligned himself against Nahas. The latter was pictured as a would-be dictator and anti-Wafdist propaganda, directed from the Palace, sought the undoing of Nahas and his régime. A struggle marked by bitterness comparable to that of an American Presidential campaign, held the public's attention. The Italian menace was forgotten when, in December 1938, King Farouk peremptorily dismissed his Prime Minister, appointed a favorite and engineered the defeat of the Wafd in a national election.

Stung to fury, Nahas and his followers launched into a violent campaign against the new Administration. He used the Palestine problem as a whip but he failed to arouse much interest. Then, suddenly, he found fault with the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which he himself had signed and claimed credit for, and, without shame, inaugurated a spirited anti-British propaganda campaign that continues to this day. Danger signals in Europe were ignored and Egyptian officialdom was blocked in its efforts of reform. There was reason to believe that there was collusion between the Wafd machine and Rome's representatives in Cairo.

—*Time and Tide*, London

The outbreak of the war in September 1939 found Egypt helpless, militarily, and completely dependent upon Britain, her ally, from whom she had tried for years to break away. By order of the King, Egypt severed relations with Germany, refusing however to declare war. In accordance with the Pact, "all of the facilities and assistance in his [the Egyptian King's] power, including the use of his ports, aerodromes and means of communication," were placed at the service of the British Army of the Nile. The Egyptian Government, moreover, took "all the administrative and legislative measures, including the establishment of martial law and an effective censorship, necessary to render these facilities and assistance effective."

ISLAM looks to Egypt as the center of Mohammedan learning and culture. The Occident regards Egypt as a vital link in the Empire's communications with India. A British victory in Africa—now almost secured—means that the lifeline will remain intact. The importance of the role of the Egyptian people in this struggle against dictatorship cannot be over-emphasized.

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Why Flee the Orient?

Japan Advertiser, Tokyo Independent English-Language Daily

IMPORTANT in the broadest sense is the continued presence in any country of fair numbers of foreigners. They are the advance messengers of international harmony. In Asia, the peaceable residence of foreign nationals affects the best interests of the Far East, of the United States, Great Britain and other countries. Likewise, the quiet acceptance of reasonable numbers of Japanese in other lands has valuable compensations. Only by this interchange of nationals may narrowness and provincialism be replaced by the tolerance and understanding which spell peace and right development. By withdrawing so many of their people from East Asia, America and Great Britain are doing a disservice to their countries and their future. Japanese having under observation here the best elements of British and Americans, Germans and French, Italians and Dutch, will understand them and their culture. When many are withdrawn there go out from Asia valuable elements of constructive co-operation. In America and British Pacific settlements the presence of Japanese enables the people to discover their real character and their best human traits. If the world is to be arranged so that alien elements everywhere are repatriated, and native peoples commune only with themselves, civilization must suffer a severe set-back. By leaving the East, perforce or by choice, foreigners end valuable contacts hard to start again. They abandon a field to influences opposed to them. Also, by making it difficult for foreigners to work and live in the Far East, the nations concerned lose real values. Through these foreigners they can know and continuously learn of other countries. Evacuation in principle is all wrong and a retrograde move. Even at the cost of some personal and temporary difficulties it should be stopped, if not by governments, as far as possible by individuals.

They are leaving their homes in the East. Thousands of foreigners are turning their backs on Japan, China, Manchukuo, lands of their adoption. Coerced by advice and circumstances, fear and the dried wells of business, Americans, British and other nationals with passports, money, freedom to move, are scattering in various directions as the commercial lines and special transports hurry them away. Women and children first is the rule, but in many cases the menfolk are able to accompany them; otherwise they remain to gather up the ends of affairs, or they linger in the hope that this adverse excitement may die down. On foreigners without welcoming lands awaiting their arrival, on the children of mixed marriage, on the native populations of the Far East the evacuation

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is leaving its mark. There are regret, loneliness, distress of parting, a sense of great change for the worse, as all such great leave-takings must inspire. The responsibility for this exodus is disclaimed by East and West alike and here there is no intention to judge. One observation that can be offered is that the dispersal is one of the explosive reactions of the European war. Non-involvement was the original intention of Japan, but to various extents it became involved and the foreigners themselves know from hard reality that they are definitely caught in the storm.

Foreigners are leaving the Far East for these reasons:

Fear of war between Japan and the Western Powers which might put them in internment camps;

Anticipation that conditions "short of war" may have similar results;

Expectation that even if hostilities may not involve the Powers with Japan, there may be difficulties in moving later on with aliens permanently cut off from their own states;

Cessation of business in particular lines, or the transfer of certain classes of commerce from foreign to domestic hands;

Gradually diminishing opportunities in business for foreigners as the normal development of a strongly marked national spirit, or by the usual processes of competition whereby service "just as good" for less money may be locally accomplished;

Misdirected energies of patriotic movements likely to make things "unpleasant" for aliens;

Expectation of increasing difficulties in transmitting funds.

The general view that the European conflict may be a long war is causing foreigners to transfer their energies to home states, and to bring up their children amongst their own folk, all living normal lives free from the strain and uncertainties felt here, with or without cause.

But many foreigners are remaining in Japan, China and Manchukuo, and they offer these reasons:

This Far Eastern agitation is an abnormal condition due to pass over when the nations settle down to peace or confine their war efforts;

Here they have lived long and become part of the country and the people: they have no interests elsewhere;

Inter-marriage, close friendship with native peoples, property interests of a permanent nature;

The not infrequent cases where foreigners feel they will let their Japanese or Chinese friends down by abandoning them in this extremity, but by remaining something can be done to modify the situation;

Economic inability to move, or a certain age achieved which would not warrant violent change;

In the case of missionaries, a zeal which necessitates staying with their flocks to give an example of courage or to maintain what has been won.

The dispersal has its tragic, distressing and yet hopeful aspects.

WHAT will these people do in a strange land? To many "home" can be stranger than the adopted home of the Far East. Relatives and friends there may be in America, Australia, Canada. But people here prefer to be

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independent and dislike inflicting themselves on others, despite the warmest hospitality and good feeling.

In the category of hope can be placed the relatively few who are trained specialists in some kind of work. These look forward to more permanent conditions which they believe will give them peace and security. The young, including those who go away to "join up," see better prospects in the long future. Many people connected with large foreign corporations, transferred to other branches in home territories, anticipate a fuller opportunity in the democratic states, although they may have enjoyed their stay in Japan. Hopeful to the extent of jubilant excitement are the very young in whose idea any change is always for the grandest and best.

Before the crisis following the American Government's advice to its nationals to withdraw, there was an increasing pace of American and British repatriation, consequent upon some of the conditions already enumerated. Time could have softened the trend and made the change less violent. Opportunity existed for foreigners to retrace their steps. Now that instructions and advice have been given by governments, firms and families, it would be most difficult to change the order. For those same nationals would begin to suspect the dependability of their officials. There could be, however, some effort to prevent aggravation of the situation by further orders or by frightening stimulants. Not inconsiderable is the feeling in the United States and Japan that this trouble will blow over, in which event the foreigners still here could rest in greater peace of mind. Japan's contribution to the pacification of the foreigner might be, if it is needed, the fullest assurance against civil excitements or careless acts likely to make life troubled or difficult.

The Particularist

Some measure of the distance we have travelled from the old days, when foreign countries were just geographical expressions or the material for travellers' tales, was provided for me yesterday in a big Lyons restaurant. I had been watching a man monopolizing the attention of the waitress who should, I thought, have been bringing me something to eat. It looked very much like the usual kind of customer-waitress light flirtation. Then there was a moment of comparative silence near me and I could hear what they were saying, it was the pretty girl who was speaking: "They're a bit slow with the news, aren't they? I mean, I *do* think they ought to be able to tell us by now *which* of the Rumanian oil wells have been hit by the earthquake."

—"Four Winds" in *Time and Tide*, London

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The United States, he says, cannot bar the Axis from this hemisphere

Signor Gayda Shakes a Fist

By VIRGINIO GAYDA

Europäische Revue, Stuttgart

THE Axis Powers have no intention of standing aloof from Latin America or of considering themselves locked out of North America, and particularly the United States.

When the lines of the forthcoming new order of European economy began to take shape, the United States had already begun to create a new economic order in the Western Hemisphere. Its intentions were quite obvious—the amalgamation of the three Americas into one economic unit, and the creation of a gigantic, self-sufficient cartel which would be closed to the rest of the world. Washington would serve as the political brains of this unit, with Wall Street as its financial heart. The whole idea is a new version of Pan-Americanism, and it is merely the continuation of the dollar diplomacy in a new form.

This plan is not an improvisation resulting from the present war and its economic consequences. It has matured and developed by stages. Many years ago the United States, by means of an elastic credit policy, sought to gain the South American market by an energetic export program, designed to make those markets dependent on the Colossus of the North. The attempt failed. It served only to provoke a crisis in the credit system of the United States. But that nation persevered. In spite of the expressed objectives of the New Deal, it did not forget its policy with respect to South America. The outbreak of war, the British blockade, the counter-blockade of Germany and Italy, Europe's isolation, the sweeping changes in Asia—all these occurred at precisely the right moment to give a new impetus to the original plans of the United States.

In the beginning, Europe, particularly Germany and Italy, was the first to open its markets wide to South American exports. Inevitably, when the war began, the economy of

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Spanish America was greatly affected. South American exports declined, and necessarily imports were curtailed to protect the currency of the various republics of South America. World trade balances were dislocated. Soon after war began, Argentina, for example, decreased all exports.

In consequence, the belief prevailed in the United States that the hour had arrived to pre-empt the South American markets and thus to extend the political and economic influence of that nation. All banks in the United States multiplied the number of their branches in the southern part of the hemisphere, and in the Spring of 1940 the Export-Import Bank was established at Washington, with an initial capital of $100,000,000. Several Latin-American republics, financially weaker than others, became members of that combine. Subsequently, President Roosevelt exercised his influence upon Congress to advance this commercial policy, vis-à-vis South America, by additional capitalization.

Thus, it has become plain that the United States proposes, by the exploitation of this system of dollar credits, to lay its hands upon the commerce and the economy of those countries, and for the duration of this war to erect a wall against the return of European trade with the Western Hemisphere. It is no less clear that the United States proposes to do everything it can to establish the sovereignty of the dollar, instead of the pound sterling, in the post-war period.

A similar attempt was made after the first World War, when the United States emerged from the status of a debtor country to that of a creditor nation. Since the outset of the present war against the imperialist democracies, this scheme has been pursued with redoubled energy, particularly since the great influx of gold into American vaults.

As recently as the first six months of 1938, the trade of vast areas of the globe was based on the pound sterling. That is no longer so. Its use is now limited, in the main, to certain parts of the British Empire, to Egypt and Iraq. Even in some of the British dominions, exports today are invoiced in dollars. With its dollars, the United States now enjoys unrestricted control over the widest economic area of any country.

In this way, it steadily advances toward the creation of a Pan-American dollar-bloc.

AT THE Havana Conference of July 1940, in which all twenty-one American republics participated, the United States made its first move in its campaign to extend its power over the entire Western Hemisphere. The proof of this lies in the revelation of Washington's plan to organize the exports of the American republics according to a uniform system. An export-import cartel was to be formed, with headquarters at Washington, which was to be empowered to buy up all surpluses of American production, which in turn would be sold in the world markets at fixed prices.

At Havana there was considerable talk over extension of the Monroe Doctrine to the economic field. Delegates laid emphasis on the bugaboo of a

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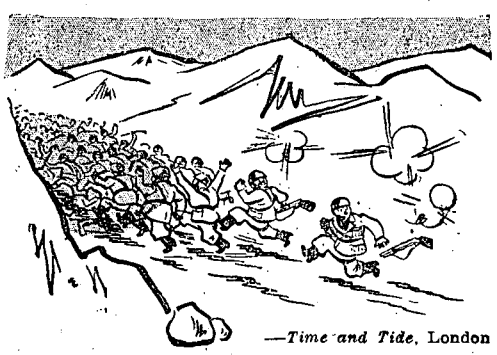
"threat" from the totalitarian nations and the extension of their influence from Europe across the Atlantic to the Americas. There was discussion that this seemingly innocuous economic expansion might in time develop into a menace to the political independence of the American republics. The press of the United States, with its vast propagandist devices, disseminated lies and slander and created an alarmist attitude toward Europe, with the purpose of alienating the Central and South American states from Europe, and compelling them to seek protection under the wide wings of American finance and American policy.

But the ulterior aims of Washington's plan were soon recognized. It was seen that the United States aimed at nothing less than dominating the entire economy of Latin-America, and at severing its traditional bonds with Europe and Asia. In other words, the United States is aiming at isolating the entire Western Hemisphere to the end of dominating it. The whole business is a policy of silent conquest, and fundamentally it is a gamble on the great adventure of the war.

The economic reorganization of Europe, as conceived by the two Axis Powers, is open to the participation of the entire world. Its objective is a far-reaching economic exchange not only among the economic communities to be created within Europe itself, but also as between Europe and the rest of the globe. On the other hand, the conception of the United States is unilateral, and is that of a hermetically sealed economic unit. It appears on the surface to be based on the same broad principles as those recognized by the Axis. In reality, however, the desired results are diametrically opposed to those envisaged by Germany and Italy, because here the intention is to destroy any commonality of economic interests between the two continents, and to establish the solidarity of the American republics as among themselves alone.

But is it possible to create a Pan-American economic autarchy, as contemplated by the Government of the United States?



—*Time and Tide*, London

WITH the prodigious quantity of its natural resources, and the most perfect industrial and financial weapons, the United States exercises imperialist control over a wide territory which, as with the case of other empires, established its economic and political unity by means of wars. In the course of its many conquests, undertaken to complete its economy, the United States naturally established its economic self-sufficiency. It is this same self-sufficiency which Germany and Italy, at the cost of enormous sacrifices, are now attempting to attain on their own territory. When President Roosevelt raises his voice against our autarchic objectives, he does so as

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though he were ignorant of the truth that the United States has already established economic self-sufficiency at home, and as though he were not seeking to carry it to extreme lengths through his Pan-American policy. The fault-finding by the United States in the relatively modest European autarchy—under the pretext that the liberties of peoples are being infringed—is mere camouflage to disguise America's own imperialist economy and her designs to conquer the markets of the world.

And this conquest the United States must have if she is to maintain her vast industrial machine that is geared to mass production. Her internal markets are satiated. It should be remembered that the United States is almost as large as all of Europe, but the density of its population does not surpass five inhabitants per square mile; that represents but one-eleventh of the population density of Italy, whose soil is much less fertile. The United States could, if it wished, increase its population, as it did in the nineteenth century. But the hedonism of the Americans, the result of high wages and salaries, has served to erect unsurpassable barriers against the influx of new men, as well as the importation of foreign products.

Yet even with its limited population, living on a soil infinitely rich in resources, the United States had thirteen million unemployed at the time of the war's outbreak in September 1939—or one-tenth of its population. This is a typical phenomenon, and it illustrates the difference in the economic and social order of the United States from that existing in Italy and Germany, where the struggle against enforced idleness has been energetic. It is the result of the unbridled capitalist spirit which dominates agricultural and industrial mass production, but is indifferent to the needs of the national community and to the highest social ideals. The phenomenon is the result also of the hegemony created by labor organizations in the United States, which have excluded the mass of workers from employment in order to protect high wages and certain social privileges.

BUT THE advantages which the war has brought to the United States are still insufficient to overcome the difficulties created by the conflict. The British blockade, and the counter-blockade imposed by Germany and Italy, have closed almost all of Europe to American exporters. The United States is surfeited with the products of its industry, and is satiated with the gold that she has accumulated. Rather than decreasing, unemployment appears to be increasing. In consequence, the American economy is turning toward Spanish America with the intention of monopolizing its markets now and in the future.

But it is obvious that this plan of the United States, while feasible of operation during the period of the war, cannot endure after the end of hostilities, even though it is supported by so many dollars. Aside from that, there is a profound and irreconciliable antagonism between North and South America. One expression of this antagonism is the competition in products designed

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for mass consumption, which is the backbone of the economy and export trade of Latin America, and also comprises in considerable degree the economy of the United States. For example, the United States cannot undertake to buy every year the cotton crop of South America, since that product is grown abundantly in the Middle West and the South. It cannot forever purchase corn, wool and copper from Latin America, nor all the coffee from Brazil, Mexico, Panama, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador and Peru. There may be co-operation among the Latin-American States, but no remedy can be found for the crisis created by the disappearance of Europe's markets. The Latin-American nations have no gold. They can only pay for their imports by exports of their agricultural products. This system of balanced trade between the two Americas cannot be maintained. By its capitalist system of a liberal economy, the aim of which is to sell as much as possible and to buy as little as it may, meanwhile accumulating the gold and currency of other nations, the United States shows itself hostile to any régime of balanced trade. It wants to be both the purveyor and the banker.

Before the outbreak of this war, Germany and Italy were among the largest purchasers of South American imports. After their victory, which will mean a great extension of their geographical and their economic systems, a new order will materialize in Europe, and trade exchanges between Europe and South America will be intensified. The new European conception of economy regards international trade as a balanced exchange of products, *i.e.*, of labor. Generally speaking, this is a conception of life and of human advancement the aim of which is to guarantee to every people the opportunity of employment, of markets necessary to the existence of that people, and just payment for the products of their labor. In this, the corrupting exchange of gold will play no part.

The Axis Powers are striving for solidarity on the European Continent, for discipline in relations between its component parts. . . . This certainly does not mean that those powers intend to be isolated from Latin America nor to regard themselves as locked out of North America and, particularly, excluded from the United States.

CAN THE United States and Latin America afford to separate themselves from a Europe of tomorrow which will give so much security and which promises so much? Is it in the true interest of the United States to jeopardize its relations with Italy, Germany and Japan, which today show themselves as the most constructive forces in Europe and Asia? By shutting its eyes to the future, the United States is creating a chasm between itself and the greatest and most vigorous peoples in the world.

Europe is getting a new set of values. It will be a tragic error for the Western Hemisphere to refuse to recognize this metamorphosis. And the two imperialist democracies of Europe will pay dearly for their failure to understand the inexorable march of history.

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Persons and Personages

Graziani and Wavell

Die Weltwoche, Zurich Independent Weekly

SHOULD posterity erect monuments to the two commanders involved in the great battle in North Africa, the statue of the Italian commander, Marshal Rodolfo Graziani, should be hewn from marble of a somewhat golden cast, in keeping with the statues still to be seen in the sand-strewn Roman temples of Libya. The statue of Sir Archibald Percival Wavell, the British commander, might more suitably be made of the dark gray tufa-stone which forms the bare and sad rock-islands of the desert.

The analogies are valid. The Italian, a descendant of the Caesars, has in abundance the qualities of great daring and hardiness, mixed with a sort of operatic brillance. The Englishman, on the other hand, is an able professional soldier, methodical and tenacious, who weighs every step on the battlefield, has no craving for laurels or applause, and prefers to remain in the background.

These two men, who have been fighting each other in the greatest of all desert battles, fought as comrades over these same wastes almost a quarter of a century ago. Both were cited for heroism as the joint conquerors of the Kufra Oasis, which had been held by the rebellious Senussis. Today the fifty-seven-year-old British Officer, and the fifty-eight-year-old descendant of the Romans, confront each other across the dunes as enemies. One wonders, does each still carry the daggers which they exchanged at Kufra Oasis, and on which were inscribed, "United we are the masters"?

Wavell and Graziani are both "Africans," as the saying goes. Since today both the great Lyautey and the celebrated Allenby are dead, the British and the Italian generals may be regarded as the world's greatest masters of desert warfare on the Dark Continent. Both have had long experience in Africa. Wavell's first taste of the desert goes as far back as 1901. He was awarded a medal for extricating his company, during the Boer War, from encirclement by the enemy. Graziani's first experience with Africa occurred in 1907, when he enlisted for a five-year stretch with the Italian colonial army in Eritrea.

And both came to abominate Afri-

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ca. Several times they succeeded in escape from that harsh continent, only to return again and again to the barren sands, to fever-infested districts, to the desiccating sirocco and the burning sun.

Although the exploits of these one-time comrades-in-arms are similar, they could scarcely be more dissimilar in temperament and background. Wavell is the professional British officer, reacting to the oldest traditions of his land; Graziani is the gifted *condottiere*, whose enthusiasm drove him from his original profession, the law, into the army. Here, the duty, and there the passion; here, the desire to serve, and there, the craving to rule.

Wavell is the scion of an old army family. His greatuncle commanded British troops against Napoleon at Waterloo. The general's father was a member of the General Staff, and he was killed in 1916 when he was serving with the rank of major-general. To the young Wavell, no other career was thinkable than that offered by the army. He attended Sandhurst where he received the "black watch," a distinction awarded each year to the best student. He distinguished himself in the Boer War, gained advancement, and won new medals, in 1908, in the Indian-Northwest struggles with the rebels.

Because he had shown great skill as a mountain strategist, he was first assigned in the World War to the Russian Caucasian army, then fighting the Turks—he held the rank of British military attaché to that body. Because for two years he had more opportunity for skiing than for waging war, he welcomed the order in 1916 which returned him to Africa. He soon became the right hand of General Allenby who was defending Egypt against the Turks. With the invaluable aid of "Lawrence of Arabia," who later was to incite the Arab world to revolt, Wavell succeeded in bringing some order among the rebellious nomads of North Africa. And it was at Kufra Oasis that the paths of Graziani and Wavell crossed. They were soon to part—Wavell to engage in the Palestine campaign, and Graziani to remain in Cyrenaica.

After the war, Wavell declined an opportunity to rest on his laurels at some desk in the War Office, and remained in Cairo. There, ensconced in the palatial British General Headquarters as "Lord of the Middle East," he was sole master of a vast domain extending from Transjordania down to the sources of the Nile and up to the Libyan desert. On rare occasions he went to Europe for a few months' furlough when he would ski in the Swiss or Voralberg Alps or hunt in Scotland or spend a few evenings over whiskey at the United Service Club in London. But although he detested Africa, he was invariably glad to return to the banks of the Nile. Despite mountains of administrative work, his supervision of defenses against encroachment from the West, and his construction of military stations in the Upper Sudan, he found time to write a volume of memoirs around the Palestine campaigns.

Graziani, meanwhile, was the hero of dozens of those familiar "pacification campaigns" in North Africa. He

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moved in an aura of glory and conquest, the envy of his colleague chained to routine in Cairo. How much more varied was the life of Graziani!

GRAZIANI, the son of a noted Italian physician, was brought up in Rome. His father insisted that he study law, and the future marshal succeeded in passing the necessary examinations. But after doing his compulsory service in the army, he realized that the law was not for him. He served as a colonial officer, but no great opportunity presented itself until the outbreak of the World War.

In the course of that conflict, Graziani advanced by slow stages to the rank of major, lieutenant colonel and, on the day of the Armistice, to that of colonel. At this time he was thirty-six. But since war was over, he left the army and bought himself a shingle, "Rodolfo Graziani, Avocato." He endured the law for four years. Then, in 1922, Italy called for volunteers for service in Libya. He responded, gratefully. He locked up his law office, this time irrevocably, and threw the key into the Tiber—the operatic gesture again. And now began Graziani's spectacular rise in the army. The lawyer of Rome became a king of the desert. Everything he did gave rise to legends. Riding a white horse, at the head of his "Sahara Columns," he conquered the district of Fezan after a magnificent campaign. The feat was so unique that Lyautey, France's greatest colonial soldier and administrator, sent a letter of congratulations to "my Latin brother." Mussolini appointed him Governor of Cyrenaica. In 1935 he was sent to Madisha, capital of Italian Somaliland, to pacify the unruly tribes of that colony. While serving there as military governor, it was said of Graziani, by an explorer who interviewed him in 1936, that "I have never seen a man of his harshness and majestic inaccessibility. He was transplanted here from another century. While we talked, he paced up and down, his face a study in stone, and a whip in his hand." To the natives, the military governor was the "*moudir*," or the "Invulnerable One." A man of towering height, always at the head of his attacking troops, he was never hit by a bullet.

Then came the Ethiopian War. The original plan of the Italian High Command, at Rome, was to keep Graziani at the head of the reserve troops, and to put Marshal Emilio de Bono, then commander in Eritrea, at the head of the offensive. But Graziani was a man of action. When de Bono's advance south from Massaua began to slow, Graziani attacked and within one week had penetrated 250 miles into the Ethiopian interior. A few weeks later he was responsible for the seizure of Harrar, after a battle against the forces of Ras Desta, cousin of Haile Selassie, the Negus. This was the first real victory of the Italians. A little time later he rode into Addis Ababa, once again on his white mount, and the campaign was over. His reward was his appointment as Viceroy of the conquered nation.

But the Ethiopians did not admit defeat. Ras Desta, the toughest of the nation's native leaders, whom Graziani had defeated at Harrar, put a large

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price on his head. Early in 1937 an attempt was made on his life, at Addis Ababa, when a bomb exploded ten feet from him. Some three hundred bomb splinters entered his body. But the "*moudir*" survived, and in time he caught the would-be assassins and hanged them in the market-place of Addis Ababa. King Victor Emmanuel was so moved by Graziani's exploits that he made him a member of the nobility, as Marquis of Neghelly.

In the summer of 1938 he was bitten with the itch to write his memoirs —not unlike Wavell—but, that accomplished, this born soldier and *condottiere* welcomed his appointment by the Duce as commander of the Italian armies in Africa. Soon thereafter, Marshal Graziani began his march on Egypt, against his former comrade-in-arms, General Wavell.

Labor in the War

By Kingsley Martin

Picture Post, London Weekly

THE Dockers' K.C. has become a member of the War Cabinet. He owes his position to his abilities. He is the undoubted boss of a great Trade Union, which he has done more than anyone else to build up. But that is not the reason for his selection. Nor has he been chosen as a politician; he only became a Member of Parliament for the first time a few months ago, after he had become Minister of Labor. He has never been a politician in the usual sense of the word; he has indeed a rather exaggerated dislike of politicians as a class. He is in the War Cabinet because, at a time when Labor shares in the responsibility of government, he is the most forcible personality in the entire Labor movement.

Ernest Bevin's intellectual capacities are certainly unusual. When he was a member of the Macmillan Committee, which dealt with highly technical and difficult problems of finance and currency, he astonished the experts by his swift and firm grasp of essentials. And when the Scientific Advisory Council to the T.U.C. was set up, only Ernest Bevin really understood its implications. Yet he can have had very little time for study and he certainly owes nothing of his understanding to his education. He was a farm boy in Somerset, earning 6d. a week at the age of eleven. Later he drove a milkcart in Bristol, which led him to become a member of the carters' section of the Dockers' Union, and then a minor trade union official. I believe he learnt much of his philosophy from John Gregory, the cobbler poet, who was himself the father of Sir Richard Gregory, the scientist and editor of *Nature*. Another important influence was Ben Tillett, with whom Ernest Bevin travelled up to London after the last war to arrange the amalgamation of the Transport Workers' Union and the Transport Workers' Federation. In 1922 Bevin, who had then been through all the hierarchy of Trade Union officialdom, became Gen-

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eral Secretary of the Transport and General Workers' Union. He had already made a national reputation for himself as a dockers' K.C., when he fought and won the dockers' case in the Transport Inquiry of 1920.

Bevin became leader of one of the three great Unions that formed the Triple Alliance of which the ruling class of Britain was so desperately frightened. He was already a leader when the Council of Action put a stop to Mr. Churchill's proposed war of intervention against Russia in 1920. He remained a leader during the series of Labor struggles that culminated in the General Strike of 1926; and was inevitably tarred with the same brush as the other Labor leaders, whose bluff was called by the Baldwin Cabinet in May 1926. If the Triple Alliance had made its threat of a General Strike, it should have been prepared to go through with it. As it was, the leaders failed, and Labor was saddled with a new trade union law which greatly reduced the funds and restricted the power of the trade unions, while the miners, who had had the worst deal of any workers since the war, were compelled to continue a long and disastrous struggle by themselves.

The humiliating debacle of the Labor Government in 1931, when Mr. MacDonald, Mr. Snowden and Mr. Thomas went over to the opposite camp and helped to form the National Government, reinforced Ernest Bevin's prejudice against politicians. He became more than ever a trade union man. For a time he hovered on the brink of joining the Socialist League. Much of Labor's history since then would have been different if Bevin had finally cast in his lot with E. F. Wise and Sir Stafford Cripps. But there were personal difficulties and the suspicion of intellectual theorists. In the end Ernest Bevin stayed out, and the Socialist League, lacking solid Trade Union backing, could not push home its advanced policy even when it succeeded in persuading the Annual Conference to vote in favor of it.

Then came the great League controversy, which beneath the surface has divided the Labor movement ever since Hitler came to power. Until 1934 Labor conferences continued to pass resolutions whose background was the Council of Action of 1920. A general strike against a capitalist war regularly appeared as part of their program, side by side with resolutions supporting the League of Nations. The pacifist part of the Labor movement received its first real shock when Hitler smashed the German Trade Union movement and began obviously to rearm and to threaten the peace of Europe.

The issue was finally decided in one of the most dramatic debates of English history. The speeches at the Dome at Brighton in 1935, when the issue was whether or not the Labor party should support the policy of sanctions against Italy, were as eloquent, as sincere and at least as im-

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portant as any of those historical orations in which great issues were debated by Peel and Cobden, and Gladstone and Disraeli. No one could have stated the pacifist argument that war could never be anything but a crime against humanity and a disaster to the working-class with more sincerity, eloquence or authority than George Lansbury, who had just resigned from the Executive on this issue. Ernest Bevin was called upon to reply. He did so in a terrific oration in which was mingled invective against George Lansbury, passionate hatred of fascism and all its works, and contempt for those who, after years of nominal support of League policy, ran away from the risks when the testing time arrived. It was a colossal piece of impromptu oratory, which swept all the conference except the convinced pacifists. It was at this conference that he openly declared his opposition to the Socialist League and all its works. "There is a standard in the trade union movement which we follow," he said, "but loyalty to a decision gets less publicity than disloyalty." He went on to accuse Stafford Cripps of having "stabbed them in the back" by resigning on the eve of the conference. "I cannot stand it and I am not going to," he said. "No person can go into office with a policy of his own. Let those who cannot follow party decisions take their own course." It was one of the decisive speeches of modern British history, for the decision taken that day meant that, throughout the subsequent period of appeasement, Labor was committed to the support of a strong foreign policy, and to the effort to reconstruct a system of collective security, even on the ruins of the League of Nations. A strong pacifist element persisted in the Labor party, but henceforth it never had further chance of official acceptance.

Ernest Bevin has a domineering temperament. He might approve of dictatorship, people say—if he were the dictator. He is among those who regard Parliament in wartime rather as a nuisance than as a safeguard for the liberties and ideals for which we are supposed to be fighting.

ONCE regarded as a potential Left-wing leader, he has long since had the reputation of being the bitterest opponent of Left-wingers. Certainly, experience as the head of a great union, and experience particularly of working with Government departments at the task of straightening out national transport problems of this country and getting rid of small pirate companies, has made Ernest Bevin more officially minded than anyone could have anticipated in 1920. It was he who took drastic action against the unofficial bus strikers. There are plenty of people in the Labor movement who say that while Bevin can fight strenuously enough on some issues, he is inclined to pull his punches when the class issue is at stake. It is said that even at the Ministry of Labor, where he has admittedly shown great energy and capacity, he sometimes threatens—bluffs perhaps, we should say—by promising to use compulsory powers against employers which he does not actually use when the time comes. It is too soon to say as yet.

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The biggest fights are still ahead.

Ernest Bevin is in his proper place in the War Cabinet. Labor's team in the War Cabinet has been weak. Bevin will bring great additional strength. The issues now before the country are just those that he understands best. He is deeply concerned with the administrative failure in East London where dockers and their families have suffered worse than any other section of the community. His determination to defeat the Nazis is undoubted; he was among the first to realize that the working-classes can only be expected to fight with enthusiasm if the war is their war. As Minister of Labor he has done more to improve their status than he could have done in years of fighting as a trade union leader. He is one of the few Ministers to be successful on the wireless. He speaks directly and often with a kind of brutality. People like it. Remember, too, that Ernest Bevin's outlook is wide; that he has great imaginative and constructive ability. After his illness and return from a voyage to Australia last year, he put before the country an admirably conceived policy for the well-being and international development of Europe's colonies.

If Ernest Bevin is still at the head of affairs when the time comes for peace making, I should expect him to have much to contribute and an outlook which would guarantee a peace better than Versailles.

Far Eastern Matches

This morning, hastily taking matches from a yet unglanced-at box, purchased in the black-out of yestereve, to light my pipe, the first three promptly snapped. I looked at the label. It bore a chaste design of a rather depressed white elephant in a rice paddy, seen against the rising sun—"Made in Thailand." Thailand Thailand? Oh, yes, our old friend, Siam.

One of the ways to acquire the reputation of an astute detective is to remark to a man whom you notice striking a match in a dainty manner: "Ah, so you've just come back from the Far East!" For the Far East uses Japanese matches, or matches fashioned in the manner of Nippon, which is to say that they are as slender as toothpicks and snap at once if handled in the rough European way. The white man, newly arrived, has to acquire the correct technique, merely brushing match against box instead of jamming it. And when he goes home it takes time for him to get out of the habit.

—"Lucio" in the *Manchester Guardian*

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Failures of Italian administrators have bred a rebellious sentiment

Ethiopia on Brink of Revolt

By EUGEN LENNHOFF

Argentinisches Tageblatt, Buenos Aires Liberal German Daily

IN THE mountains of Ethiopia, the muffled beat of war-drums is again heard in the night, calling upon the tribes once more to rise against their Italian oppressors. The drums are also heard on the neighboring frontiers of Kenya Colony and of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, where thousands of Ethiopians, who would not submit to the Italian invaders, fled and found refuge. In command today of these revolting Ethiopians is General Ras Tifrauri Biddu, former minister of war, who after the fall of Addis Ababa, in 1936, followed Emperor Haile Selassie into exile, and escaped to Jerusalem. The old war-flag of the "Lion of Judah" has been raised again, and it snaps in the hot African wind. [Haile Selassie has returned to his country.]

Four years have passed since Mussolini incorporated Ethiopia into his "Empire" by a ruthless attack on an unarmed people. Nevertheless, the country has never been "pacified." The Italians have shown their ineptitude as colonizers. Calling themselves "pioneers" and purveyors of civilization to Ethiopia, nevertheless they soon demonstrated that they had no interest in the fate of the natives, and their only interest in the country was to extract even more wealth than Ethiopia possesses. Before the Duce fell upon the country, without any declaration of war, he promised his people "mountains of gold" in return for their war effort. He lied, of course, since Ethiopia contains not a fraction of the rewards that he promised his public and his legions. As one consequence of Italian disappointment over the nonexistent rewards, Italian officials and officers who were sent to administer the country instituted a régime of terror.

In the beginning, the natives did not believe any resistance possible, in view of Mussolini's weapons which they saw on every side. But the Italians con-

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tinued their terrorist tactics, not believing the natives were ready to submit, and they shot a good many of the tribal leaders. The administrators could not be induced to make wise concessions to religious traditions of the various tribes and nationalities. All Ethiopians who had been vested with any authority and were respected by their people, were replaced with Italians, men who had not the slightest knowledge of the language, no respect for Ethiopian traditions, and no interest in the temperament and character of the eight million souls they were supposed to rule.

Methodically, the invaders destroyed all the old commercial practices and deposed the native traders and merchants, who alone understood the intricacies of Ethiopian economy. Favored merchants from Rome, Milan and Leghorn, who were permitted to monopolize the entire business of the conquered nation, were confronted with unending difficulties. Instead of finding themselves in a position to export Ethiopian products, they were compelled to import enormous quantities of goods from the Mother Country. These imports had to be sold at exhorbitant prices, since the haulage cost was considerable. The cost of living rose to unendurable levels.

Natives were excluded by the Italian administrators from all public works. The soldiers and thousands of Italian laborers, who had been told they would enjoy countless advantages as citizens of the conquering country, found themselves forced to build roads, administration buildings, barracks, etc. One consequence of the exclusion of natives from this program of public works was not only to breed resentment and bitterness among the natives, but to see the Italians lose "prestige" in the eyes of the tribes. According to the findings of a French writer, Jerome Tharaud, the Ethiopians began to call the Italians "white slaves," because they saw them undertake all the menial labor.

During the four years of Italian occupation, they succeeded brilliantly in one direction: they united all groups, races and tribes into one burning hatred. The "order and security" in Ethiopia of which Mussolini boasted, and which the Italians at home believed to be a fact, were no more than a hollow pretense. Reports came from many parts of Ethiopia that the native temper was dangerously near revolt.

Motion pictures and newspaper photographs, disclosing natives participating with Italian officials in observing national holidays, are now realized to be nothing more than unadulterated propaganda. The truth is that the country is in such an unsettled state that no Italian at night dares to venture out in truck or auto. Even in broad daylight, most vehicles are armed with machine guns.

When questioned as to this unrest, Italians in Ethiopia attribute the reason to "bandit tribes" which, they add, have always existed in the country and cannot be "pacified" over night. And that must be admitted. But during the years of Haile Selassie's rule, the native authorities kept these bandits in check. The present unrest and native uprisings can only be explained by the fact that they are led not by "bandits"

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alone but by rebels. The outbreaks were on the increase even before Italy's entry into the war last June. The 100,000 Italian troops, together with the 150,000 native troops are incapable of stamping out the guerilla tactics of these rebels. And, perhaps of more importance, they also seem helpless to bring a halt to the smuggling of arms across the frontiers of Ethiopia.

SINCE the day Italy entered the war and stabbed France in the back, unrest through the colony has increased enormously. It is plain that almost in every section the tribes are organizing to attack their oppressors at a given signal. One of the first who has gone over to the rebels was Ras Abbaba Lagarais, former police chief of Addis Ababa, who promptly answered the summons of General Ras Tifrauri Biddu. He has proved himself a resourceful guerilla leader. In the district of Ankober, where he is active, uprisings break out with monotonous regularity. There is a high price on his head. But all of the Italian Army in Ethiopia has been unable to catch him.

(Editor's Note: The situation of the Italian forces in Ethiopia, by reason of the British rout of the Italians along the length of the western coastal plain of Egypt and much of that of Libya, is increasingly perilous. The Italians have no way by which to get supplies to Addis Ababa. Some military observers in this country are of the opinion that the Italians are confronted with an inevitable disaster in Ethiopia, one even more terrible than that of Adowa, in 1896, when the Italian troops were routed and their officers emasculated or beheaded.)

Defeatism in Sweden

There are certain quarters in Sweden which, because of political tension, are losing their morale. Some of us people are no longer able to take a positive attitude toward the dramatic events of our times, and their value to this country is diminishing. The identical symptoms can be observed among some groups in neighboring nations. . . . But the fact is that there are many factors today that should arouse lagging spirits. A symptom of this defeatism is the greed for entertainment, by which to dull our inner doubts. Another is the increasing consumption of alcohol. Everyone who has any feeling of responsibility must fight such symptoms. What our Swedish nation needs is self-control and a serious attitude toward life.

—*Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm

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That explains the indifference of the Reich to the claims of Russia

Germany's Economic Hold on U.S.S.R.

By Dr. Oleg Hoeffding

Free Europe, London International Emigré Organ

THE passive attitude of the Soviet Union toward the German thrust down the Danube and the threat of Axis domination over the Straits has produced a crop of speculations on this new "mystery" of Moscow's policy. Apart from the regrettable extent to which wishful thinking has been allowed to take the place of reasoned analysis in this discussion, most of the attempts at explanation have taken purely political and strategic factors for their starting points, while little attention has been paid to the economic issues involved. And yet, the German conquests in Northern and Western Europe have not only substantially changed Germany's economic position, but have also vitally affected the balance of economic power between Germany and the Soviet Union.

At the time of the conclusion of the non-aggression pact with Germany and of the economic agreements which followed it, the Soviet Union could consider herself economically the stronger partner—potentially, at least, if not actually. When coming to terms with Hitler, the Moscow statesmen undoubtedly expected to have to deal with a Germany which, having embarked on a major war long before her plans of autarchic war economy were completed, would soon find herself confronted with rapidly mounting economic difficulties and, in the absence of alternative sources of supply, would be dependent on such economic aid as the U.S.S.R. would be willing to give —or at least promise. The situation at the outbreak of war warranted the assumption—probably made by the Kremlin politicians—that by increasing or throttling supplies to Germany they would be able to influence the trend of German policy, or at any rate to compel the Nazis to refrain from moves interfering with vital Soviet interests.

It is important to emphasize that it was the potential value of the U.S.S.R.

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as an economic partner rather than its actual ability to supply strategic materials which gave it a favorable bargaining position in relation to Germany a year ago. Although Nazi home propaganda widely exploited the prospect of Soviet supplies to stiffen German morale during the first winter of war, more responsible Nazi spokesmen and publications always stressed the long-term nature of the arrangement and the necessity of extensive preliminary development before imports from the U.S.S.R. could assume tangible proportions. But if we recall Germany's precarious economic prospect at the outbreak of war, it will be easily understood that the leaders of Nazi economy then attached great value even to the likelihood of increased Soviet deliveries at a remote date.

The events of the Spring and Summer of 1940, however, not only considerably depreciated the value of the Soviet partnership in Nazi eyes, but also substantially weakened the actual position of the Soviet Union with regard to its "defense economics." This has been due to three groups of factors:

1. Germany's military conquests in the north and west and her "peaceful penetration" southeast have placed her in control of sources for the immediate supply of many of those materials which the Soviet Union could have made available to them at some remote future date.

2. The importance of the Soviet Union as a *potential* source of *raw* materials has been further reduced by the lessons of the campaign in Western Europe, which has shown that modern mechanized warfare, as against the "war of material" of 1917-18, involves a much smaller expenditure of *materials*—as distinct from the products of a highly developed manufacturing industry (aircraft, tanks, motor vehicles, automatic arms, engineering and communications, equipment, etc.).

3. German control of the Continent has gone far to reverse the Soviet-German balance of power of a year ago. At that time the U.S.S.R. was the only source accessible to Germany for a number of vital materials. Now Germany has acquired a virtual monopoly with regard to many of the manufactured capital goods which the Soviet Union still has to import, being unable to produce them in sufficient quantity or quality. Alternative sources for these imports have now been eliminated by German conquests or made inaccessible by new political transport barriers and by their employment to capacity on work for increased domestic demand.

A FEW examples will suffice to demonstrate the effects of the first factor. Germany's crucial problem at the outbreak of war, that of iron ore, has been solved by her gaining control of the mines in Lorraine, Northwestern France and Luxembourg, as well as the Swedish mines and the Norwegian transport route (now of much smaller importance); it has made the Nazis utterly independent of Soviet supplies from Krivoj Rog or Magnitogorsk. Although such supplies would not have materialized on any considerable scale before Soviet output had been substantially increased, a year ago they were

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still a useful "trump card" in the Soviet hand. The same applies to oil: the seizure of the Rumanian industry, with its convenient transport position and the small competing local demand, has reduced German interest in the Soviet oil industry, which is struggling to keep pace with rising home consumption and has an export surplus reduced to a fraction of Rumanian output. Agricultural products present much the same picture: had Germany's position remained what it was in September 1939, she would have found it exceedingly difficult to make ends meet in a long war. Here again, the Soviet promissory note appeared much more valuable to the Nazis at that time than it is now. It has been depreciated by their control of the Danish and Dutch meat and fat factories, supplied with fodder from Southeastern Europe under the "New European Order." With agriculture in all German-dominated countries commandeered to serve the needs of the Reich, and their peoples kept at starvation level, Germany may well face the future without having to rely on Soviet supplies of grain, fodder and meat—necessarily limited by the smallness of genuine surplus production in the U.S.S.R. and by transport difficulties.

Germany's conquests have also improved her position with regard to some of those materials which she could have obtained through, if not from, the Soviet Union, such as nonferrous metals, rubber, textile fibers, etc., for which Soviet Pacific trade might have provided a loophole through the Allied blockade. After the seizure of the strategic reserves and trade stocks of these commodities held in France, Belgium and Holland and the elimination of Allied competitive bidding for strategic materials in the Balkans and Northern Europe, Germany could—at least for some considerable time—do without the difficult imports of such goods across the Pacific Ocean and the Asiatic continent.

THE Soviet Union has certainly retained its monopoly toward Germany in the case of a few materials—*e.g.*, manganese ore and phosphates—but on the whole its bargaining position has deteriorated to an extent which certainly renders it incapable of exercising economic or political pressure on Germany. The U.S.S.R. might have kept a certain value for the Nazis as a "second line" for raw material supplies if it had not been for the second factor outlined above—the fact that the volume of demand for strategic raw materials for the conduct of war—up to now at any rate—has been on a much smaller scale than generally expected. The instance of oil provides, perhaps, the most striking illustration of this fact. The much-quoted estimate by the German expert, F. Friedensburg (*Deutscher Volkswirt*, 1937, Nos. 29, 30), who put the oil requirements of a great power for a year of war at 12,000,000 to 20,000,000 tons, was based on the assumption of a kind of warfare fundamentally different from the campaigns of September 1939 and April-June 1940. This and similar estimates for other materials took for granted a repetition on a magnified scale of the strategy of

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the Western Front of 1918, when sheer weight of material thrown into the battle decided its outcome and the expenditure of materials was consequently enormous.

Germany, however, aware of the causes of her defeat in 1918, and realizing that her slender economic resources would never enable her to triumph in another equally "wasteful" war, succeeded in "rationalizing" the art of war by forging the materials available to her into weapons of a much higher efficiency. She was enabled to do so by commandeering her highly developed manufacturing industries and all her technical brainpower and skilled labor for the achievement of this end.

The realization of the greatly increased role of a country's level of industrial development under the new conditions of warfare will enable us fully to understand the implications of our third factor—the dependence of the Soviet Union on certain imports of specialized industrial goods.

While almost completely self-sufficient as regards strategic raw materials (with certain exceptions) and with its own powerful armaments industry (in the widest meaning of the term) the Soviet Union has failed to achieve complete self-sufficiency in the intermediate stages of capital-goods production. It has to import numerous types of specialized machinery, notably certain machine tools, a variety of instruments and other complicated equipment, certain important chemical products, some high-grade steels and metal alloys—to mention only the items essential for the war potential.

All these imports could, in peacetime, be obtained from a small number of countries possessing highly developed and differentiated industries —namely Germany, Great Britain, the U. S. A., to a lesser degree France, and several smaller producers like Sweden. The very fact, however, that there were several, and mostly competing, sources of supply for these imports used to play a considerable role in Soviet trade policy in the pre-war decade.

Thus, in 1930-32 Germany provided the lion's share of machinery and other technical imports to the U.S.S.R. In later years, a large proportion of them was transferred to the United Kingdom, the U. S. A. and other countries—due partly to German-Soviet political friction but largely also to the fact that the export capacity of German industry, fully employed on Hitler's rearmament drive, was greatly reduced.

AT THE beginning of the war, the Soviet Union could still expect to have a choice of several potential sources for its vital import needs, although competing demand for the war effort of the belligerent countries would inevitably have affected their export capacity. On the whole, however, the Soviet prospects for meeting their import needs were not too unfavorable. Germany, within the limits imposed by her own war requirements, could be expected to do her best to satisfy Soviet wishes in return for the Soviet raw material and food supplies which she then hoped to receive. The Allies, subject to the same limitation

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and to the additional transport difficulties, could appear as alternative suppliers, which possibly would offer favorable trade facilities in an attempt at "winning over" the Soviet. Finally, there was the vast industrial capacity of the U. S. A. which, in the absence at the time of intensive rearmament and of the strong anti-Soviet feeling which later brought about the "moral embargo," could have filled most of the gaps in the Soviet industrial machine.

At present, however, the position is greatly different. The European Continent is under German control. Germany's economic gains from her conquests (as we have shown above) have largely removed her dependence on the Soviet Union and with it the incentive to meet Soviet import needs even at the sacrifice of some of her own interests.

Britain and her Empire (even if existing political obstacles were removed) will hardly be in a position, for some time at any rate, to divert much of their productive capacity from their present intensive war effort to the production of goods needed by the U.S.S.R. (It must be emphasized, however, that this applies to machinery and other industrial products only. The British Empire would certainly be in a position to satisfy Soviet import needs of certain important raw materials such as copper, tin, nickel, rubber, etc.)

Finally, the United States have embarked on a rearmament drive on a scale unprecedented in peacetime which before long will tax their industrial capacity to the utmost. American machine-tool production (*i.e.*, a branch of industry which would be of primary interest to the U.S.S.R.) is already proving a serious bottleneck in this rearmament drive. This tendency is bound to increase and to spread to other fields as United States war preparations gain in intensity.

Germany, on the other hand, now finds herself in control of a vastly expanded industrial capacity. She is in a position to relieve the strain imposed by the war on the Reich industry and to employ either part of the latter, or the newly acquired industrial capacity of France, the Low Countries and Denmark on tasks not directly connected with the needs of the Nazi war machine. This situation must turn the scales of German-Soviet economic relations heavily in Germany's favor. In the absence of alternative sources of supply, the U.S.S.R. will have to turn to the German market for indispensable imports, while on the other hand her own export market is much less attractive and important for Germany now than it was a year ago.

IT WOULD certainly be wrong to overemphasize the degree of this Soviet economic dependence on Germany, but the fact of its existence cannot possibly be denied. The recognition of this new phase in Soviet-German economic relations will undoubtedly contribute also to the understanding of their present political relations, and in the light of it some aspects of the Soviet attitude in the face of German encroachments upon their *Lebensraum* might appear less inexplicable.

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Just a wisp of conversation out of a bombed dwelling somewhere in Britain

Oh, Madam . . .

By Elizabeth Bowen

OH, MADAM. . . . Oh madam, here you are!

I don't know what you'll say. Look, sit down just for a minute, madam; I dusted this chair for you. Yes, the hall's all right really; you don't see so much at first—only our beautiful fanlight gone. No, there's nothing in here to hurt: I swept up the glass. Oh, *do* sit a minute, madam; you look quite white. . . . This is a shock for you, isn't it! I was in half a mind to go out and meet you, but I didn't rightly like to leave everything. Not with the windows gone. They can see in.

Oh, *I'm* quite all right, madam. I made some tea this morning. . . . Do I? Oh well, that's natural, I suppose. I'd be quite all right if I wasn't feeling so bad. Well, you know how I always was—I don't like a cup to go. And now. . . . If you'll only sit still, madam, I'll go and get you something. I know you don't take tea, not in the regular way, but it really is wonderful what tea does for you. . . . Sherry? I'll go and try, but I really don't know —the dining-room door won't—I'm *afraid*, madam, I'm afraid it's the ceiling in there gone. . . . And as you know, Johnson's got the key to the cellar, and Johnson went off after the all clear. I said, "You did ought to stay till madam's with us." But he didn't seem quite himself—he *did* have a bad night, madam, and you know how men are, nervous. . . . I don't know where —back to his wife's, I daresay: he didn't vouchsafe. . . . The girls? Oh, *they're* quite well, I'm thankful to say. They were very good through it, really, better than Johnson. They'll be back for their things, that is, if—well, oh *dear*, madam, wait till you see. . . .

No, I'm all *right*, madam, really. . . . Do I? Not more than you do, I'm sure. This *is* a homecoming for you—after that nice visit. I don't know what to say to you—your beautiful house!

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There usen't to be a thing wrong in it, used there, madam? I took too much pride in it, I daresay. . . . I *know*, madam, the stairs—all plaster. I took the dustpan and brush to them, but as fast as you work it keeps flaking down. It's all got in my hair, under my cap. I caught a sight of myself in Johnson's mirror and I said to myself, "Why madam will think I've turned white in the night!" . . . Yes, there it goes; watch it. It's the shock to the house. Like snow? The things you think of! You *are* brave!

Oh *no*, madam. No, you get through it somehow. You'd have been wonderful. . . . We'd have done what we could to make you comfortable, madam, but it would not have been fit for you—not last night. If I said once I said a dozen times, to the others, "Well, thank goodness *madam's* not here tonight; thank goodness madam's away." . . . Yes, we all sat down in our sitting-room. It *is* a strong basement. It does rock, but not like the rest of the house. . . . It was that one they dropped in the cinema that did our damage, madam. They say what went on the cinema weighed a ton. They should never have put a cinema, not in this neighborhood. However—poor thing, it's not there now. . . . No, *I* haven't madam; I haven't been out this morning. I only just saw what I saw from the back. And I'm only glad *you* didn't—it would only distress you. I expect your taxi brought you the other way. All I know I heard from the warden. He seemed to consider we'd had quite an escape.

Well, I suppose we did, madam—that's if you come to think of it. They did seem to have quite set their hearts on us. I don't know how many went in the park. When it was not the bangs it was the hums. . . . Well, I don't know, really—what *could* we do? As I say, all things come to an end. It would have sickened you, madam, to hear our glass going. Well, you've *seen* the front. No wonder you came in white. Then, that ceiling down. I know *I* thought, "Well, there does go the house!" Of course I ran up at once, but I couldn't do anything. . . . The wardens were nice; they were very nice gentlemen. I don't know how they think of it all, I'm sure.

YOU won't take *anything*, madam? . . . You'll need your fur coat, excuse me, madam, you will. There's the draught right through the house. You don't want to catch cold, not on top of everything. . . . No, its useless; you *can't* move that dining-room door. . . . But the house has been wonderful, madam, really—you really have cause to be proud of it. Yes, it's all right here in the little telephone room—that is—well, you can see for yourself. . . . What is it—an ashtray, madam? . . . No, I don't wonder, really: I'm sure if I were a smoker—you have to have *something*, don't you, to fall back on? I'll bring the ashtray upstairs with us for the rest of the stumps. . . . Yes, madam, I'll follow, madam. As you say, get it over. . . . Oh dear, madam, you *are* upset. . . .

You can't help that; you can't but walk in the plaster. I'll have it all off in a day or two.

Airy? Well yes, if you call it that. I'd sooner our landing window, I must

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say. You see, what the warden said happened, the blast passed through. Well, I don't know, I'm sure: that was what he said. You have to have names for things, I suppose.

The drawing-room? Oh, *madam*. . . . Very well. . . . *There!*

I don't know what to say, really. . . . You know, madam, I'd rather last night again than have to show you all this. It's a piece in the Bible, isn't it, where they say not to set your heart on anything on this earth. But that's not nature, not when you care for things. . . . Haven't you, madam? It's good of you to say so. I know how I'd have felt if I'd thought there ever *was* dust in here. It used to sort of sparkle, didn't it, in its way. . . . As it is—why, look, madam: just this rub with my apron and the cabinet starts to come up again, doesn't it. Like a mirror—look—as though nothing had happened. . . . If I could get started in here—but what am I talking about! The windows gone—it doesn't look decent, does it. . . . Oh, I *know*, madam, I know: your satin curtains, madam! Torn and torn, like a maniac been at them. Well, He *is* a maniac, isn't He? . . . Yes, it did look worse—I swept up a bit in here. But I don't seem to have any head—I didn't know where to start.

THAT'S right, madam, go on the balcony. You won't see so much different from there. To look at the park, you wouldn't hardly believe. . . . Sun shining. . . . Well, it may do good, I suppose. But this doesn't rightly feel like a day to me. . . . All that mess there? That was one of those last night. Yes, it *sounded* near us, all right: I hadn't properly looked. . . . Oh dear, madam, did that give you a turn?

No, I don't know yet, madam; I haven't heard. I didn't care to go asking out on the street. I expect I'd hear in good time, if—it doesn't do to meet trouble. No, not Kentish Town, madam, Camden Town. . . . Well, I have been wondering, naturally. It did pass through my mind that my sister'd telephone me. . . . Well, I would like to —just run up there for a minute? That is, if my sister doesn't telephone me. Just run up there for a minute this afternoon? That always has been my home. . . . It's very kind of you, madam: I hope so, too. . . .

Little houses aren't strong, madam. You always worry a bit. When I looked out at the back this morning at some of those little houses, where the mews used to be—no, don't *you* look out that way, madam; you can't do anything; better look at the park—I thought, "Well, they're paper, aren't they." They're not built to stand up. That was the big bomb they got, the cinema bomb. . . . Yes, they always seemed to be nice people: the girls and I used to go through that way to shop. Very quiet; you wouldn't know they were there. I don't think this terrace has ever had to complain. . . . Didn't you, madam? No, I hardly suppose you did. . . . Well, perhaps they were, madam. Let's hope that they were.

That's right, madam, turn up your coat-collar. The draught comes right through.

What with you being so good about everything, and now I take another look—well, it might be worse, mightn't

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it! When we just get the windows back in again—why, madam, I'll have the drawing-room fit for you in no time! I'll sheet my furniture till we're thoroughly swept, then take the electro to the upholstery. Because, look, madam, I don't think anything's *stained*. . . . The clock's going: listen—would you believe that? We mustn't go crying after the curtains, must we? . . . Well, I did, first thing this morning: I couldn't *but* cry. It all seemed to come over me all at once. But now *you're* back—such a difference I feel! Hitler can't beat you and me, madam, can he? If I can just get these glaziers—they expect you to whistle. It's not good for a trade to be too much in demand, is it? It makes the working people ever so slow.

No such great hurry?—I don't understand — I — you — why, madam? *Wouldn't* you wish—?

Why no, I suppose not, madam. . . . I hadn't thought.

You feel you don't really. . . . Not after all this.

But you couldn't ever, not this beautiful house! You couldn't ever . . . I know many ladies *are*. I know many ladies feel it is for the best. You can't but notice all those good houses shut. But, madam, this seemed so much your home—.

You must excuse me, madam. I had no right—it was the shock, a minute. I should have thought. The whole thing come on so sudden. . . . Why yes, madam; I've no doubt that you should. It will be nice for you down at her ladyship's. All that nice quiet country and everything. We should all wish you to be where it's safe, I'm sure. . . . You mean, for the duration? . . . *I* see, madam. I am sure you'll only decide what's right. Only . . . this lovely house, madam. We've all cared for it so. . . . I *am* a silly: I was upset this morning, but somehow I never saw us not starting again. . . .

I suppose it might, yes. Happen another night. . . .

All the same, I should like, if you didn't object, madam, to stay on here for the month and get things straight. I'd like to leave things as I found them —fancy, ten years ago! . . . That's very good of you, madam, but it's been my own satisfaction. If it has made any difference I'm only glad. . . . I daresay I'm funny in ways, madam, but it's been quite my life here, really it has. . . . I *should* prefer that, if it would suit you. I couldn't think of workmen round in here without me. . . . . I've been through so much with this place. . . . In *any* event, madam, I should rather be here.

Tonight? . . . *I* see, madam. I'm sure they'll be glad to see you. I'm sure you should lose no time, not after a shock like this.

We should think of your packing, then, shouldn't we? If we went up now to your room perhaps you'd just show me what. . . . Oh, yes, I see. I hadn't properly thought. Of course you would need to take everything. When it's for so long, and—. Well, good clothes should be where it's safe.

The plaster's worse on the second flight, I'm afraid.

Yes. . . . I was really dreading bringing you up here, madam. But now you won't want to sleep here for some time. Your lock's not hurt—look:

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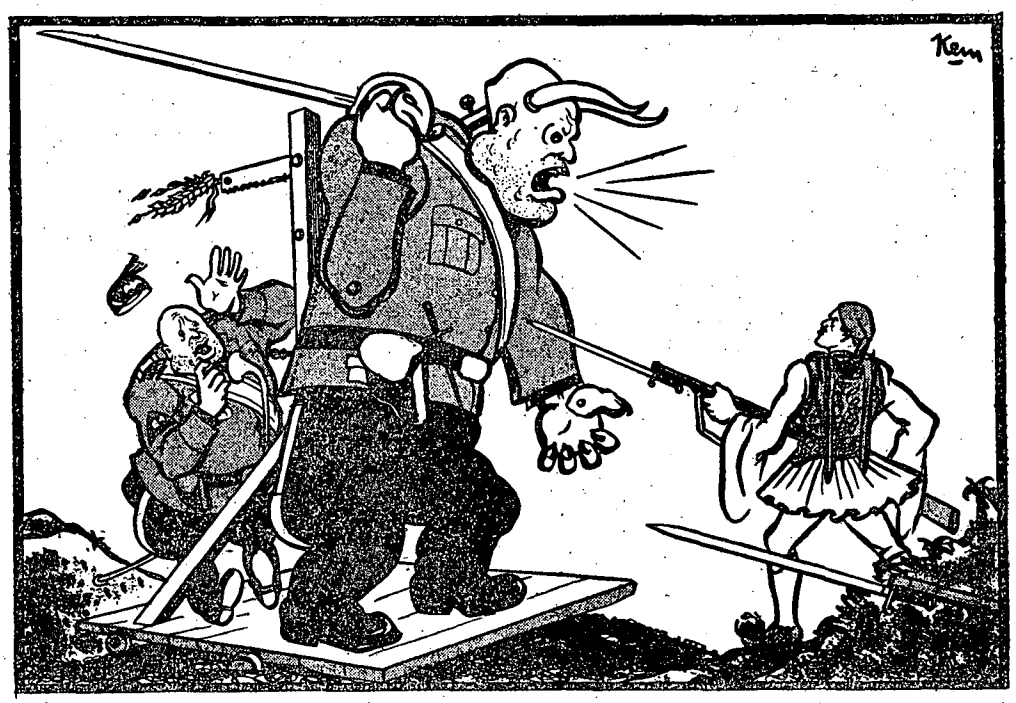
there's not a mirror got cracked. . . . It was that old blast got the little lamp. . . . I can't picture you, if I may say so, madam, waking up in the mornings anywhere not here. Oh, you've travelled, I know, but you have always been back. Still, nothing goes on forever, does it. . . . Your dresses, madam—I've been over them: not a speck. There must be some merciful Providence, mustn't there?

You won't find such good-fitting cupboards, not at her ladyship's.

Yes, look at the sun out there. Autumn's always the nicest season just around here, I think.

Excuse me, madam—madam, it's nothing, really. I—I—I—I'm really not taking on. I daresay I—got a bit of dust in my eye. . . . You're too kind—you make me ashamed, really. . . . Yes, I daresay it's the lack of sleep. . . . The sun out there. . . . If you'll excuse me, madam—I'll give my nose a good blow—that clears a thing off. . . . Yes, I will try, when I've just run up to my sister's. I'll try a good nap. But to tell you the truth, madam, I shan't truly sleep till I've started to get things straight. . . . I'm quite myself now, really. Hope I didn't upset you. . . . I'll just run up to the boxroom after the trunks and cases—they'll need some brushing, *I should* think. . . .

THAT really is what I'd rather, if you have no objection. Johnson and the girls will be round tomorrow, and as you won't be here, madam, no doubt you would like me to. . . . And I couldn't leave this house empty, the whole night. . . . I know, madam, I know that must come in time. . . . Lonely? No; no, *I* don't feel lonely. And this never did feel to me a lonely house.



—*Great Britain and the East*, London

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The Führer is an avid movie fan and views all the best productions

German Movies as Propaganda

By JEAN HEER
Journal de Genève

IN A small and cozy room of his Berlin domicile the Reich Chancellor Hitler spends the few minutes during which his duties as head of a warring Germany do not demand his full attention.

On pressing a button, a wall slides away and a white screen appears. On this screen Adolf Hitler sees not only all German films, but also most of the films turned out by the studios of Hollywood, Paris, London and Moscow. The Führer loves movies. To Berchtesgaden, his summer home, special planes bring the films which, a few days later, are shown in all moving-picture houses of Germany.

Germany, the totalitarian country, is waging a war from which she will emerge either stronger than before or crushed to the ground. She is fighting on all fronts, and the policies which the National Socialist leaders are following show clearly how well they understand the importance of the old Roman slogan *panem et circensis* (bread and circuses).

Since the beginning of the War, Germany has not been able to produce as much foodstuff as she would like to do. Ration cards have been distributed and, aside from a few exceptions, nobody gets more than his share. For this reason, the Führer ordered one of his cleverest co-workers, Dr. Joseph Paul Goebbels, to take all steps to compensate the people for all their daily annoyances. One of Goebbels's duties has been to provide the Germans with the aforementioned "circuses."

Besides the radio, the film is one of the most powerful means of propaganda in the Reich. It establishes a close contact between the Government and the people, between the army and the hinterland. The German film production aims at providing the people with shows which heighten their patriotism, but at the same time have entertainment value.

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Dr. Goebbels fully recognizes these possibilities. When the war started, it was thought necessary to shut down a number of film theaters owing to a shortage of technicians. But by now, more than 14,000 of these technicians, who were needed critically by the army, have been replaced by women. These substitutes are mostly wives, sisters or other family members of conscripted men. The women had to take special courses and pass an examination, after which they were given diplomas.

The unusual success of the German war news-reels is based on one of Goebbels's personal ideas. Until recently, all film reporters were civilians. The Reich Minister for Propaganda conceived the idea of making soldiers of them. Thereby he was able to get unique close-ups of actual warfare. Being a "camera man" is now the secondary duty of a group of military technicians. They are the ones who produce these extraordinary war scenes.

The news-reels have been accepted so favorably by the Germans that most movie-goers reserve their seats days ahead. These films unite them with the soldiers who do the actual fighting and also show them the battles and the scenes which are to decide Germany's future. Every week more than a thousand copies are made of these news-reels, captions for which are translated into about twenty languages.

How has Germany organized the production of full-length films? Their number has increased considerably since the outbreak of the war. During peacetime all necessary steps were taken to prepare the cinematographic industry for its important role. The entire production and exploitation of films has been united under the command of one single man. At present there are being produced twice as many films as two years ago.

THE Reich has established four film centers. The *Ufa* and *Tobis* have built two small towns near Berlin, Ufaville and Johannisthal. Munich and Vienna have been chosen as the seat of the two other great enterprises: *Bavaria* and *Wienfilm*. These four centers of the industry have been organized, by order of Dr. Goebbels, on the same basis as munition factories. All actors, workmen and employes are divided into the same categories as the personnel of Krupp (armament factory) or Zeiss (optical workshops). They have been conscripted and assigned to studios at Berlin, Vienna or Munich, just as other soldiers are being sent to the front.

Just as the other leaders of the new Germany, Dr. Goebbels works fast and with one single aim in mind. As he is young himself, he likes to be surrounded by young and active people. The official of the Ministry for Propaganda who has charge of the film is a former newspaper man. In this capacity he used to collaborate with Goebbels when the going was hard. All other co-workers of Goebbels have been his friends for years. He supervises all their work personally. Every day he reads and corrects film scenarios which have been submitted to him. Also he is the final authority in assigning certain actors to certain roles. And besides fulfilling all these duties, Dr.

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Goebbels is the budget-director of the four great film enterprises. One can meet the heads of the film industry almost every day in conference at the Ministry at the Wilhelmsplatz. These meetings, at times, last until far into the night. Emerging from them, the participants often sigh: "What a lot of work."

The film has become an instrument of war. It has already proved its importance. When quieter times return, its importance is bound to rise still higher. With Prussian thoroughness, now in the midst of war, the responsible heads of the German film industry are laying the groundwork for coping with the immense post-war tasks.

London's Owners

The most valuable part of London, the elegant West End, belongs to the Duke of Westminster. These properties, covering over a square mile, are estimated to be worth £25,000,000 sterling; four years ago the Duke sold eight acres of that land for a million pounds. As with most English properties, the ownership of the House of Westminster dates back to medieval times when land was still cheap and under the plow. In the time of Queen Elizabeth, an ancestor of the present Duke married a Miss Davies who owned a small farm—now the district of Belgravia in which three-fourths of the British aristocracy live in imposing mansions. The rest of the West End belongs to Lord Portman, who has sold a few lots but, even as late as 1929, still owned 270 acres. A hundred and seventy years ago, an invalid member of his family was advised to drink donkey's milk for his health, but as that milk was difficult to obtain, this ancestor bought a farm for the maintenance of a small herd of donkeys. Lord Howard de Walden is the largest landowner in the center of London, with title to huge sections of the business district around Oxford Street, Regent Street and Euston Road. The area around Regent Park, Regent Street and St. James Street is largely Crown property. It is difficult to get information about the landholdings of the Church of England, but they are known to be about as large as those of the Crown, as are those of the London County Council —"The City"—which takes rent from no less than 280,000 tenants.

—*Argentinisches Tageblatt*, Buenos Aires

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Straws in the Wind

The Obvious Reason

What about Somaliland, the only part of the British Empire which has been taken by the enemy? The reason is obvious enough. Seven years ago our late Government refused to allow the entrance into Somaliland of British missionaries, and the preaching of the Bible, in spite of repeated requests to the British Governor that the Gospel message might be taken to the Somalis. Now Somaliland belongs to the Italians! "God is not mocked; what we sow, we shall reap."

—Correspondent in the *Oxford Mail*, England

Impeccable Logic

Profound penetration was displayed by the journalist, writing a news story about the discovery of an unidentified corpse. "The body," he wrote, "was cut up in several pieces, and the various parts dumped into a bag. Consequently, suicide hardly seems probable."

—*Le Journal*, Paris

That's What the War's About

The Rev. Claud Coffin, of Harborne, in a lecture at Malvern, said an eccentricity known as "futurist" had crept into the realm of art. There were sculptural atrocities of Jacob Epstein in London.

"I wonder if they are going to escape the bombs," he remarked.

—*Birmingham Evening Despatch*, England

Sleeping Sickness

Physician: How many hours do you sleep daily?

Patient: One hour every day.

Physician: But that's insufficient! No wonder you're so run down.

Patient: Yes, but I also sleep nine hours each night.

—*Argentinisches Tageblatt*, Buenos Aires

The Solicitous Corporal

Corporal (addressing cavalry recruits): So remember, never approach the horse from the rear because it may kick you in the head, and I want no lame mounts in my squad.

—*National Zeitung*, Basle

Author!

Who wrote the greatest plays known to literature—Shakespeare or Bacon? Read the first letters of the second column downward and you get the author.

Mac	Beth
Julius Ca	Esar
Two Gentlemen of Ve	Rona
Merchant of Ve	Nice
Coriol	Anus
Comedy of Er	Rors
Merry Wives of Win	Dsor
Measure for Mea	Sure
Taming of the S	Hrew
Antony and Cleop	Atra
All's Well that Ends	Well

—*Tid-bits*, London

New Dodge for a Drink

The handing over of a bomb in a public-house was described at Westminster yesterday, when Michael Block, 39, machinist, of Fawcett-street, South Kensington, was remanded for 14 days on bail, charged with "committing an act in relation to a bomb (German) calculated falsely to suggest that it did not belong to His Majesty."

—*Daily Telegraph*, London

Reason Enough

Sylvia Countess Poulett (sixty), described as independent, of London, was fined £5 at Harrogate yesterday for showing a light from her bedroom at a hotel. Police-Sergeant Haig said that when he interviewed Lady Poulett on September 8 she explained that the light had been left on in her room so that her little dachshund could eat its supper.

—*Sunderland Echo*, England

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One Definition

Pretentious bore, at party: "Professor Einstein, I also give profound thought to serious subjects. So, would you tell me the difference between time and eternity?"

Prof. Einstein: "Sir, if I took the time for an explanation, it would take you an eternity to understand it."

—*Weltwoche*, Zurich

Patriotism From the Grave

Mr. Lush resents the use of the lower part of the cemetery for the collection of articles essential to the manufacture of munitions. . . . The spirits of those loved ones whose remains rest in the cemetery, I am confident, rejoice that they are doing their bit in this endeavor by having the dump where it is, and I, with many others, do not think there is any necessity to change its location.

—Correspondent in the *Weston Mercury and Herald*, England

Sounds Like Masochism

To a people like the British, setbacks early in a war act as a tonic; we cannot fight without them.

—*Economist*, London

That's What You Think

. . . The ordinary man has the stubborn feeling that hierarchy is necessary in society, and he has no natural objection to wealth being the main qualification for the higher ranks of the hierarchy. For on the practical side the average working man still believes that the possession of wealth is the best and perhaps the only test of capacity.

—*Bristol Evening Post*, England

Leg Attitude Must Change

The idea wool salesmen hope to sell female buyers in big stores is that with the passing of silk and the practical impossibility of getting further stocks of lisle (a German product), the whole mental attitude of woman toward her legs must now be changed.

Silk, they say, is an unbalanced flatterer, draws excessive attention to the ankle and calf line and gives no help as a daring use of color in wool can in emphasizing the harmonious perfections of the whole female form.

Match wool stockings, scarf and hat they propose—use bold, fresh reds, greens, yellows, blues.

I don't know. . . .

Bitter comment of woman, to whom I have explained the whole theory: "I see. And when do we take up football?"

—Stanley Barron in the *News Chronicle*, London

Born in a Paper

"All three doing well" closes the announcement of the birth of a daughter in a Blomfontein (South Africa) paper. The father, who paid for the advertisement, did not see why he should not be recognized in the matter.

—*Japan Chronicle*

The Nazi Cuisine

Answering a question about the uses to which sawdust may be put, the *Deutsche Tischlerzeitung*, organ of the German carpenters and cabinet-makers, reminds German National Socialists the "fine white wood dust can be sold to bakers and to macaroni factories."

—*France*, London

Chic in the Shelter

It is exceedingly easy to become demoralized in shelter habits, and attention to one's appearance makes bombs seem less final.

—*Manchester Guardian*, England

The Dangerous Life

It seems incredible that, under existing black-out conditions, performing lion-shows should be allowed in the evenings in our villages.

—*Leicester Mercury*, England

Constructive Suggestion

On the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, I was strongly impressed with the possibility of the conversion of Stalin. Would it not be the most worthwhile prayer we could offer as a Church and a nation?

—*Chigwell Church Magazine*, Essex

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One view is that Germany must devise another war strategy

From Blitzkrieg to Attrition War

National-Zeitung, Basle Liberal Daily

AT THE present moment, blitzkrieg tactics seem to have been supplanted, so far as the Germans are concerned, by the familiar strategy of a war of attrition.

In military science, two methods of warfare have long been recognized. One aims at defeating the enemy as expeditiously and thoroughly as possible. The Germans call this blitzkrieg; heretofore, it has been referred to in the textbooks as "destructive strategy." Whoever enjoys the preponderance in force invariably seeks to force the enemy to sue for peace by means of overwhelming and ruthless attack. The world's greatest soldiers, Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Charlemagne, Genghis Khan, Gustav Adolf, Napoleon and Moltke, all were "strategists of destruction."

On the other hand, whenever a nation at war has had to face overpowering odds, or is fearful of disproportionate loss of life, that nation has sought to set up a strong and prolonged defense, biding its time until a favorable opportunity arrives for an offensive. For example, such was the strategy of Frederick the Great who, in the course of the Seven Years' War, was concerned chiefly with exhausting by degrees the superior strength of the enemy. This "strategy of exhaustion" is, of course, a stopgap or an expedient. Those who employ it show, in most cases, that they have little confidence in their military strength or ability.

In the World War, until the breakthrough in the Summer of 1918, both sides believed in the principles of the strategy of destruction. It is true, however, that after the Armistice German war historians debated among themselves whether it might not have been more shrewd to have employed the "strategy of exhaustion" on the Western Front, and to have limited their destructive tactics to the East. Accord-

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ing to Hans Delbrück, the war historian, Britain and France would have recognized the German conquests in the East if their enemy had explicitly renounced all expansion in the West. A great deal of criticism has been levelled at Ludendorff's offensive of 1918 on the Western Front. Repeatedly the charge has been made that only an irresponsible adventurer, and not a military strategist, would have attempted to destroy the Allies, once American troops were on French soil.

In the present conflict, National Socialist Germany, safe in the East by reason of Russia's neutrality, undertook to win a "total victory" in the West by the unprecedented employment of the strategy of destruction, *i.e.*, blitzkrieg. The Allies, who are inferior in the air, have met this with a strategy of attrition [until December 1940]. Their hope had been to halt the further expansion of Nazi might by means of economic warfare until such time as they might arrive, by 1941 or 1942, at superiority in the air. It has been amply demonstrated, however, that the Allies overestimated their defensive powers, and the capitulation of France made plain that this strategy of attrition was a failure.

Nevertheless, the general situation is not as simple as it may appear. Britain has been able to develop her airforce to a point where she has been able to continue the war, and a favorable factor has been her insular position. When Germany, after some hesitation, began to employ her strategy of destruction against the British Isles, she met with effective resistance. The Germans learned that the British Air Force could not be destroyed, and also that the enemy at least was capable of dominating the skies over England. As a result of this experience, Germany appears to have abandoned, temporarily, plans for the invasion of Britain. The plan last Fall appeared too risky. The Germans recognized that the points at which invasion troops could be landed would be made untenable by British planes and warships, and that a constant flow of reinforcements and of mechanized equipment across the Channel was impossible of execution. Later, the Germans were to learn that the concentration of reinforcements on the coasts of Europe was made hazardous in the extreme by reason of the systematic bombing of the "invasion ports" by the R.A.F.

Another point: the Germans have learned that their attempts to destroy British morale by the bombardment of London have been unaccompanied by any success. Thus, while Germany's strategy of destruction succeeded against France, for the moment it has failed against England.

OF COURSE, this should not be construed as a reflection on the competence of the German military machine. The chief obstacle offered by England was that supplied by nature: the Channel was the obstacle, rather than any manpower possessed by Britain. But in any event, by control of the skies above their own soil, and by absolute control of the sea, the British have apparently made the Channel impassable for that otherwise irresistible instrument, the German war-machine. Possibly the invasion would have suc-

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ceeded had it been launched in June, before the British were able to organize and co-ordinate their defenses.

If Germany for the present drops the idea of an invasion attempt, and is satisfied to limit her attacks on the enemy to bombing and to the use of the U-boat, it will mean that she is abandoning the strategy of destruction, or blitzkrieg, for a warfare of attrition. It may develop that Germany will be forced to this expedient since, due to the insularity of the enemy, the two land armies cannot meet on the field.

If this change in tactics is to be adopted by Germany, a political reorientation will become necessary. The best evidence of this is the already changing attitude of the Axis Powers toward France. Until a few weeks ago, the German and Italian press charged that the French were responsible for the outbreak of war, and dampened any French hopes of a happier future. It now appears, however, that the Axis is more conciliatory. A generous peace settlement with France . . . might see the French Navy and the French colonies joining in the war against England.

Some signs indicate that henceforth, instead of attacking the British Isles on their own soil, the Axis will attack in the Mediterranean. This might lead to a situation analogous to that in the time of Napoleon. The Corsican, when he realized that the invasion of England was impossible, tried to destroy British power by attacks upon Egypt and Spain. With his continental blockade, he tried to forge all of Europe into one economic bloc against England. The result was that the Continental System caused much greater damage to the nations of Europe than it did to England, which had control of the sea; and the resultant dissatisfaction of the countries coerced into union with France contributed substantially to the collapse of the Napoleonic empire.

Similarly today. Europe is by no means able itself to produce sufficient foodstuffs and materials for its needs; it is suffering from its position of isolation resulting from the imposition of German rule, and its economy is one of general want. The longer the various peoples are forced to live under a subnormal economy, the greater is the danger of widespread dissatisfaction.

There is great danger for Germany in the possibility that Great Britain, thanks to aid from the United States, will attain air superiority in the near future. It is well also to take cognizance of the fact that the United States every year produces thirty times as much oil as does Rumania. American industry is still beyond reach of Germany's air power. As soon as the airplane factories of the Reich become more vulnerable to attack by increasing numbers of British bombers, Soviet Russia will lose her fear of the Nazi war-machine. None of these dangers confronting Germany can be overcome by any victory she may win in the Mediterranean.

THUS, if German imagination, which has displayed such genius in the military field, does not soon discover new means of invasion and of sea warfare, blitzkrieg must give way to the strategy of a war of attrition, in which far different factors are operative.

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Italy's little wooden man now becomes a new kind of hero

Pinocchio Turns Fascist

By W. G. Mayne

SOME fifty years ago, the Italian author Carlo Lorenzini, called "Il Collodi," wrote his *Pinocchio* which has delighted children and parents alike. It is full of adventure and has many an instructive moral not only for children but also for grown-ups. As it was doubtless the author's intention to amuse and educate children regardless of their nationality, there is no indication, except for the names of the characters, that the setting is Italian. *Pinocchio* is simply a children's book with a strong moral appeal. The author's political neutrality has made his book one of the favorite fairytales of the world. Walt Disney's cartoon-film revived its fame and contributed a great deal to Pinocchio's popularity in our days.

Contemporary Italy, where Pinocchio has always been a familiar figure, is using that widespread popularity for political ends. Pinocchio, in a sequel published some months ago under the title of *Pinocchio's Fiancée*, is no longer unconcerned with politics. He is presented to Italian children today as the model of a hundred-per-cent Fascist.

The plot, in short, is as follows:

Pinocchio, now a grown-up young man, is far from Florence, dedicating himself to engineering studies. A girl, made of wood like himself and destined to be his wife, meets him on a sea-trip after many adventures. They immediately fall in love, and the happy end of the story may easily be guessed.

Within the frame of that simple plot, the author has put a number of figures that can be divided into two classes, namely, Italians and foreigners. The Italians are all ardent patriots, and here the Fascist system, through the pen of the author, reveals the political credo which it seeks to impose upon youth. Love of country is not enough: it must be developed into a feeling of superiority. The Italians

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in the fantasy are without spot or blemish. They are all brave men and women who, on any occasion, stress their nationality and the pre-eminence of their people. They are incapable of evil, because all Italians are good.

The intention of the author is clear. Young readers are to be gradually led toward super-patriotism. The system, in order to play a leading part in the world's affairs, must show that it is entitled to that dominance by proving the superiority of its nation, and that a people all of whom are honest, brave and virtuous has a divine right to leadership. This is the educational purpose of the book, and Italian youth, fed such doctrines, will as adult chauvinists be the most fervent adherents of fascism. (Or so it is planned.)

The author uses other methods to instill super-patriotism in his readers. So far, he has drawn his Italian figures as models endowing them with positive qualities worthy of imitation, thus demonstrating the superiority of his people. But there is still to be emphasized the inferiority of the others who, through excess of negative qualities, supposedly provide conclusive proof of Italian moral supremacy.

While all the Italian characters are angelic figures, the foreigners are "devilish conspirators." French, English, North and South Americans, Scandinavians, Russians and others (with the exception of the Germans and Spaniards, of course), are drawn as criminals and thieves. They are portrayed as those who have the money with which they try to exploit the genius of poor Italy—here we have the official Fascist theory of the "have" and "have-not" nations cleverly adapted to the understanding of children. The foreigners pursue their aim —unsuccessfully, in the end—by all unscrupulous means. Their manners are ridiculed, their mental capacities belittled. They play the roles of kidnappers and betray one another. Their mode of speaking is puerile and their only thoughts are on money-making. For although rich, they want to increase their riches by seizing the Italian secret of creating beings from wood, which they are unable to do themselves. But the brave Italians, however poor they may be, do not want foreign gold. They invent people from wood for its sake alone; their genius, unique in the world, is not for sale.

THERE can be no doubt that contempt for all races, with one or two exceptions, is thus implanted among young Italians. Children reared on such prejudices will later form the strongest pillars of the Fascist system. It is easy to mobilize them in street demonstrations against nations which they only know in such versions. For the system does not allow its people to travel abroad to any great extent, for there they might revise the opinions so carefully instilled in them by way of these "innocent" fairytales.

This, then, is the first aim of the new *Pinocchio*: education of children as super-patriots and future world-rulers. The second is to hold up Pinocchio as a model-hero. The author depicts his Fascist protagonist at the height of his heroism. For example, he has seen his future bride on the ship, but has not yet made her acquaintance.

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The girl is insulted by a wicked foreigner, this time an Arab of Algiers. (A French subject, it is true. But an Arab! The author seems to have forgotten the protective role Italy has assumed over the Arabs. Surely a blunder!) During a fête aboard the ship, Pinocchio, the girl's noble protector, addresses the Arab in the most offensive terms. The other challenges him, but Pinocchio—the brave, the valiant, the hero of Fascist youth—refuses to fight a duel.

And now comes the interesting juncture that reveals the Fascist conception of heroism. To the cheers of his countrymen, Pinocchio gives this reason for his refusal to fight:

"First, I have every right to refuse to fight a duel because you, a foreigner, have publicly offended an Italian girl on an Italian ship. Therefore, you are unworthy of crossing the sword with a gentleman."

Most gentlemen would, of course, not content themselves with mere talk in such circumstances. But the Italian "gentleman" prefers to use grandiose phrases. He is bound to tell off his opponent. His strength lies in his skill of argument. By talk, he intimidates his enemy. After a storm of applause from his compatriots, Pinocchio continues:

"Secondly, our swords and our lives are consecrated to the defense of our country."

It seems that the Italian girl (on Italian soil) is not part of the country, and so does not deserve to be defended except by words. But Pinocchio tops off his argument by a third reason, which demonstrates that he is just the type fascism wishes to train. He says:

"Finally, punishment has already been inflicted upon you by the verdict of our public!"

And now the onlookers, the actors, and the ship's crew join their hero in insulting and shouting down the Arab. Pinocchio ends the scene by replying modestly to the Captain's congratulations, as follows:

"I have done my duty. I was lucky in arriving before any other Italian who, however, certainly would have behaved quite the same way."

There we are. Fascism shows the way the Italian youth are to go: the basis is contempt and conceit, a profound sense of superiority; heroism consists in bullying and threatening.

This scheme has worked perfectly in the past. Italy's Fascist policy consisted of threats and big talk. Action was taken only against opponents who had no chance to resist aggression that followed the threats. Thus Abyssinia and Albania were subdued. France, so long as she appeared to be strong, was mildly threatened; when she was prostrate, her heroic neighbor stabbed her in the back.

But a weakness can be seen in this technique. England and little Greece and Albania have proved that garrulous "heroes" may be subdued by the less conceited and less talkative.

(Editor's Note: The United Press recently reported that Paolo Lorenzino, nephew of the author of *Pinocchio*, had asked the Italian Ministry of Popular Culture to sue Walt Disney for libel on the ground that Pinocchio as portrayed in the film "easily could be mistaken for an American.")

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Critical problems face the Islands, once they are cast adrift from us

The Road Ahead for Filipinos

Philippine Journal of Commerce

(Editor's Note: Official opinion in the Philippines is increasingly concerned over the fate of the Islands, particularly the economic phase, once the Tydings-McDuffie Act goes into effect, in 1945, and casts that possession adrift from the United States. Once the country attains this status of complete independence, it is expected to be confronted with the "acquisitive consideration" of Japan and it must also find new outlets for its industries, whose products will no longer enjoy preferential treatment in the markets of the United States, until now its biggest customer.

In the following articles, five aspects of the Philippines' problem are discussed by Philippine leaders in economics and finance.)

New Industries Needed

By Salvador Lagdameo

Manager, Agricultural & Industrial Bank

ON August 19, 1939, the Government established the Agricultural and Industrial Bank of the Philippines. During the short period of a year, it has been my privilege to have come in contact directly and at close range with the problems of young industries in this country. It is to the search for the solution of these problems that you and I and a host of others are dedicated.

Our greatest problem of today is the adjustment of our national economy preparatory to Philippine Independence, five years from now. A review of our economic set-up points to

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the fact that it was built largely on the preferential treatment in the United States market accorded to our export product; namely, sugar, copra, abacá and tobacco. Whatever economic progress our country has attained during the American régime, may be attributed to the free-trade relation between the United States and the Philippines. But the coming of our political emancipation will usher in the termination of this free-trade relation and leave this country alone on her feet to stand for national existence.

Under the Independence Act our major export crops, not to mention our export of manufactured or semi-manufactured goods, are made subject to certain limitations. There will be levied on sugar, coconut oil, abacá and abacá products graduated export taxes beginning with 1941 and up to 1946, after which all shipments of these products to the United States will be subjected to the full American import duties. Sugar, prior to the inauguration of our Commonwealth Government, constituted 60.82 per cent of our total exports. The total investment in the cultivation and production of sugar is estimated at $225,750,000 with about two and one-half million of our people dependent on it for livelihood, directly or indirectly. Our national government derives a large portion of its revenues from sugar taxation. The coconut industry with an investment of about $220,000,000 ranks next as an export crop, constituting 17.14 per cent of our total exports. About four million people are directly dependent on it for livelihood. The next is abacá and cordage which constituted 13 per cent of our total exports and with an investment in the land and improvements of about $185,000,000. About two and one-half million of our people are dependent upon it for subsistence. The fourth export crop is tobacco which constituted 4.9 per cent of our export trade. The estimated investment in tobacco land and improvements amounted to $21,000,000 with about 500,000 people dependent upon it for livelihood.

These industries have been developed and have attained their present stage because of preferential trade. When the full American duties are made effective on our goods, unless we find means materially to reduce our cost of production, exports of our principal agricultural products will no longer be profitable. What will become of such enormous investments and the people dependent upon these agricultural industries? This difficult condition affecting our present and future national economy is further aggravated by the present conflicts in Europe and in the Orient. Faced with this situation, our national government and leaders have evolved plans for the purpose of rehabilitating our major agricultural industries and promoting new ones on the basis of non-preferential status in the markets of the United States. One such plan already in operation is the National Development Company which has launched into canning, textiles, cement, coal and iron extractions, and the development of water-power. Recently, new government corporations were organized; namely, National Abacá Corporation, National Tobacco Corporation,

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National Coconut Corporation, and National Trading Corporation. The Agricultural and Industrial Bank was also established along the same line. All these newly created agencies are primarily intended to help out the Government in its gigantic work of adjusting our national economy, to prepare the country for the full responsibilities of an independent nation.

After a careful study of the economic problems with which the country is now confronted, I am of the opinion that the most rational and practical solution is adequate industrialization, that is, the establishment of new industries to complement the activities of our agricultural pursuits so that in this manner, we may not only preserve what we have accomplished in developing our agricultural resources, but at the same time, create economic goods consumable locally out of our own existing and potential resources, articles which at present we import from foreign countries in large quantities. I have arrived at this opinion because our principal manufacturing industries are dependent and must largely be dependent for their raw materials upon agricultural products, examples of which are refined sugar, copra cake and meal, coconut oil, desicated coconut, rope, cigar, fiber hats, etc.

THESE manufacturing industries, particularly those which derive their existence from our major export crops, are likewise faced with economic difficulties, including such industries as lumbering, embroidery, pearl button manufacturing, with the exception maybe of mining. In spite of these, however, I do not believe that the economic future of our country is without hope. I believe that with the enormous potentialities at our command the picture can be made as bright as we wish to, provided we have the will and the right perspective to use our energies toward the right direction.

The establishment of new industries requires understanding of certain basic principles which must be thoroughly understood if these industries are to have a fair chance of success. I consider the following as essential:

1. A concrete idea of the whole project before it is organized.
2. A well-laid-out economic plan, which involves the engineering aspect and technical location of the plants, factory organization and constructions.
3. A well-laid-out plan of financing, which consists of determining the capital required and the ownership of the same.
4. An effective management and executive control requiring managerial and executive ability and experience.
5. Laboratory research and investigation.
6. A good accounting system and, particularly, adequate cost accounting so that the cost of production is determined in detail, the profitableness of the product is known, and the possible weakness of the process of manufacturing may likewise be shown.
7. Knowledge of market conditions and proper distribution of the manufactured articles or goods.

Once the general plan of the project is well organized and its economic planning is formulated, the next step

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to consider is the manner of financing. This involves the study of the capital requirements, organization of the company, and the financing of the industry until it is brought into actual existence. It is quite difficult to make estimates on the capital requirements of a new industry. However, the experience of older establishments engaged in the same or allied lines may be used as a starting basis for estimating the capital requirements of a new industry although the particular requirements of the business proposed to be organized must be used as the real basis. These capital requirements include such expenditures and outlays as promotion expenses, organization expenses, cost of fixed assets, cost of establishing the business, regular working capital and others. It is lamentable to note that not much thought is given to this phase of starting new industry and, as a matter of fact, there are many companies which are organized with inadequate capital so that their normal operations are hampered and consequently such companies become too dependent upon outside creditors for their working capital and for additional investments.

Let us profit from the mistakes and experience of other peoples of the earth who through their industrial evolution have built efficient industrial organizations for their countries.

Islands' Co-operatives

By Benito Razon
National Training Corporation

As one ponders over the pages of economic history and accustoms himself to extract from there something more relevant to the welfare of the human race than the mere chronicles of the successive risings and settings of the sun, the growth and decline of dynasties, war, famines, and similar physical happenings, he will observe, among other phenomena, that each age develops, as it were, its favorite economic philosophy.

Just as Sweden is known because of her matches, Germany because of her toys, England because of her textiles, the United States because of her automobiles, Japan because of her silk, Persia because of her rugs, and Asia Minor because of her tobacco, so must the Philippines attempt to produce that which will make them recognized among the civilized peoples of the world. Like the cautious and experienced mariner, who every day at high noon in the open seas must take his bearings to determine the exact position of his ship so as to direct it toward its destination unerringly, this yearly celebration is an annual appraisal of our achievement in the field of industrialization—one of the favorite economic philosophies of the country today.

Several years ago—to be exact, in 1935—through some fortuitous event, I was called upon to launch the NEPA

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movement. I sought counsel from all sides. I ransacked every available information concerning the procedure and objective of protectionist movement in other areas. I traced the record and achievement of this movement in our country as far back as 1782, the year when *La Sociedad Económica de las Islas Filipinas*, better known as *Amigos del Pais*, was organized for the purpose of enhancing the well-being of the people by means of the development of agriculture and commerce and the diffusion of information on allied sciences. After a careful survey of the situation and realizing the magnitude of the problem and the many obstacles that must be surmounted, I must candidly confess, I had moments of doubt as to the efficacy of the NEPA movement. The skeptics and pessimists, not realizing the resiliency, adaptability, and patriotism of our people, were loud in their predictions that the movement would result in dismal failure. Some were bold and blatant in saying that there was nothing to protect, because the country produced nothing. They even went so far as to hint that the patronage solicited by the NEPA was on products of inferior quality so that the protection sought for was in fact a subsidy for inefficiency and an oppressive sacrifice to the consumer for the benefit of ill-equipped, ill-trained local manufacturers.

The NEPA movement is highly educational in character. It seeks to instill in the minds of our people the realization that to patronize a local product is to preserve their own patrimony.

But educational preaching, like any other crusade, must be followed by a practical movement.

In the very near future, our Government will officially launch the cooperative movement—the practical application of the NEPA crusade.

This movement will seek not only to correct the defects of our present economic organization, which defects are inherent in any economic infancy, but also to provide gainful occupation for our labor and a more reasonable distribution both of our agricultural produce and of consumers' goods.

When this movement is formally launched another important page in our economic history will be written, and the historian, ever solicitous to describe a new order in accordance with its social value, would felicitously designate it as "The Latest Economic Frontier of the Philippines—The New Challenge to the People."

LET ME quote from an address which I delivered at the Convention of the League of Public School Teachers, held in Manila on May 1, 1935, and which I consider very pertinent at present. I then said: "We are entering into a veritable cross-roads of our national life. The next few years will be so momentous and so crucial to us that we need to muster into service all the active factors of the nation that we may have fortitude and confidence to face the responsibilities thrust upon us, not by accident nor by providential mandate, but truly by our own design and efforts. We must mobilize all our national forces, revive those that are dormant and turn into vigorous life those that are now ineffective.

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Once we have secured the maximum effectiveness of the genius of our people, emulating the reserve but significant enthusiasm of Wellington after the Battle of Waterloo, we could then say that our battle for nationhood is won and that we are on the road for greater accomplishments and achievements not only to serve our country but also to promote the welfare of our neighbors who may need our aid."

Available Markets

By Cornelio Balmaceda
Director of Commerce

THE greater development of Philippine industries forms an essential part of the national economic program for two main reasons: first, because the loss of the American free market after 1946 will greatly curtail exports of major Philippine products and one salvation of the export crops thus seriously affected lies in their industrialization; and, second, the Philippine market now absorbs a great volume of imported articles which could be locally manufactured, and these lines of imports should be replaced with local manufactures as much as possible, especially the articles of prime necessity. National security and the difficulties which the country is experiencing today in getting supplies of essential articles from abroad because of the wars in Europe and in China, and similar difficulties which we are bound to experience under similar emergencies in the future, demand that we develop our domestic manufacturing industries so that our people can be economically self-sufficient at least in their supply of prime necessities.

That our domestic market offers a wide field for local manufactured goods is readily seen in the great quantity of manufactured articles that we are importing from abroad. The total value of our imports of these articles in 1939 reached the high figure of $102,840,339. These imported wares embrace a wide variety of foreign-made articles including food manufactures, clothing, household articles, and agricultural and industrial implements. The value of each of the above-mentioned articles alone that were imported by the Philippines in 1939 is shown in the following figures:

	Value
Food manufactures	$14,155,410
Clothing	25,500,000
Household articles	4,311,737
Agricultural and industrial implements	7,242,864

The following list of specific articles imported here in 1939 and the value of each is indicative of the many lines of manufactured goods now being sold in our domestic market:

	Value
Textiles	$24,556,495
Cigarettes and other tobacco products	6,972,380
Wheat flour and other breadstuffs	4,766,452
Dairy products	4,250,137
Rubber goods	2,543,964
Canned fish	1,470,630
Pottery	957,340
Wines and liquors	930,613
Vegetable preserves	692,524
Footwear and other leather manufactures	692,545

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Soap	425,841
Canned meat	387,467
Ham and bacon	296,260
Pharmaceutical products	294,156
Candies and confectionery	294,117
Toys	180,530
Matches	118,057
Coffee	111,783
Cocoa	103,771
Ink	51,131

Almost all of the above-listed articles are also locally produced. It only remains to increase the present domestic production in order to supply the entire domestic need. This will require on the part of our manufacturers not only greater capacity in production but also their ability to turn out articles that could equal or excell the standard of the imported goods that are now being sold in the market. Because of long patronage, extensive advertising, enormous capital, and modern methods of production used by the foreign manufacturers, these imported goods have won a tremendous popularity in the domestic market which gives them a great advantage over domestic manufactures. Nevertheless, if our manufacturers will spare no effort to improve the standard of their products and our consumers will give them the support and patronage that they deserve, there is no reason why the local manufactures will not eventually gain a predominant position in our domestic market.

Of the articles of local manufacture that are gaining a wider market in the domestic field, mention may be made of Ilocano textiles; abacá products, such as rugs, doormats, handbags, slippers, shoes, belts, cushions, fans, etc.; canned fish, vegetables and fruits; rubber shoes; bamboo fans and handbags; shell products; pharmaceutical goods; wines and liquors; toys; ham; toilet preparations; embroidered garments; soap; rattan furniture; paints; floor-wax; jusi and sinamay cloths; candies and confectionery; rubber doormats; sporting goods and ceramics.

ONE vital problem in the distribution of our domestic product is the scarcity of Filipino distributors. Many manufacturers who have joined the floating expositions have tried to establish agency connections in various ports touched by the exposition, but have been unable to secure suitable agents as local distributors because the retail distribution in most places is mostly monopolized by aliens who are more interested in selling similar manufactured articles imported from abroad. The agents of the Bureau of Commerce who are assisting the manufacturers in finding new distributors in different provinces are meeting with the same difficulty. Unless we can count on the services of sufficient distributing agencies in all parts of our domestic market who can properly handle these locally made products, the problem of national distribution and expansion for domestic industries will remain unsolved.

In connection with this problem, the success of the government's program to establish co-operatives among Filipino consumers will bring an effective solution. The Bureau of Commerce has recently sponsored the establishment of the first consumers' co-operative stores in Manila and some of the provinces. As this movement will be extended into all the provinces, we shall have the necessary outlets for the na-

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tional distribution of the products of our domestic industries. Along this same line, the corporations recently established by the Government, such as the National Trading Corporation, the Abacá Corporation, the National Tobacco Corporation and the Coconut Corporation, will have under them co-operatives of consumers as well as producers. When all of these co-operatives are well organized and established throughout the country, they will provide ready channels for the extensive distribution of all our local products.

The foreign field is no less promising. We are already selling abroad varied lines of Philippine manufactured products, such as embroideries, hats, coconut oil, cordage, tobacco products, sugar, desiccated coconut, rattan furniture, etc. Besides these well-known export products, the many novelties that are being manufactured by our craftsmen in the households and small manufacturing shops can find ready buyers abroad. Numerous inquiries are being received in the Bureau of Commerce for supplies of these Philippine-made articles. Even actual orders for big quantities have been received.

Great interest in the purchase of such products has been shown especially by big department stores and their agents who have visited the Philippines and have gathered samples of these goods. Of these Philippine-made articles for which inquiries are being received from the United States and other countries, mention may be made of abacá luncheon sets, abacá slippers, abacá twines, abacá rugs, piña cloth, harvest hats, bamboo glass holders, etc. Due to the very low prices of these simple articles, they are particularly attractive to the big chain stores in the United States like the five-and-ten-cent store. Representatives of these stores in the United States who have come to the Philippines have pointed out the great opportunity open to these Philippine-made products to replace other more costly articles of similar kinds now being sold extensively in the United States.

The example of the bamboo lawn rake may be cited. This article is in great demand in the United States. The article being widely used there at present is of steel wires made into a fan shaped form with a contraption at the end of each wire for teeth and four and one-half foot handle. This article is being sold at 70 cents. A sales agent reported to the Bureau of Commerce that the Japanese who are constantly watching for opportunities to introduce cheaper articles have made a substitute of this lawn rake by manufacturing it out of bamboo. The substitute article is now sold in the United States at 9 cents, and being much lighter and cheaper and since it can do the work just as well, or better, the cheap Japanese article has been accepted in the American market by the millions, and one can readily imagine the business that the Japanese have made out of this simple device. "I made a study of some such volume items in the United States particularly," says this American sales agent, "which I think we can duplicate with Philippine raw materials and sell by the millions." He made special reference to Philippine-made

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hats of the cheaper kinds, wood carvings, and various articles made of buri fiber, abacá fiber and other Philippine materials.

It will be readily realized, however, that in order to do business with foreign markets, the local industries must first be established on a truly commercial basis. We have to produce well-standardized articles with designs made to fit the tastes of foreign buyers. Before manufacturing any of these articles for export on a big scale, a thorough survey must be made not only of the extent of the market that may be found, but particularly the way the articles should be manufactured to suit the demand in the market. Unless the manufacturer does this, he cannot develop an export market. The manufacturer should give what the buyers want and not what he thinks they should want.

So, to the query: "Are these available foreign markets for Philippine manufacturers?" my answer is, "Yes." But in most cases we are not in a position at present to supply those markets either because of our limited production or because of the unorganized condition of many of our domestic industries and the lack of a constant and systematic, first-hand survey of those foreign markets.

The Bank Question

By Vicente Carmona

President, Philippine National Bank

BEFORE the establishment of the Philippine National Bank, the only locally organized bank of importance in the Philippines was the Bank of the Philippine Islands (formerly known as Banco Español Filipino). In view, however, of the fact that this latter institution, besides having special interests to serve, had only a very limited capital, it was neither in a position to render material aid in the economic development of the country nor was it able to extend much financial assistance to Filipinos. True, there were other banks doing business in the country at the time, but they were only branches of powerful foreign banks which, in their operations, naturally gave preference to the nationals of the countries of their respective home offices over Filipinos.

In order to correct such conditions and, at the same time, to give greater impetus to the economic development of the Philippines and to provide Filipinos with an institution from which they could obtain financial help for their business requirements, thus enabling them to get a larger participation in the country's trade, the Philippine National Bank was created in 1916.

What did the Philippine National Bank do to attain its purposes? In answer to this question, let me cite the following facts:

In 1935, just after the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philip-

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pines, the number of Filipinos served by the Philippine National Bank was 28,284 and the total amount of loans granted to them was $15,778,500. In 1939 the number of Filipinos served by the Bank was more than doubled, reaching 63,492 and the total amount of loans was $30,839,500. These figures show how the number of Filipinos served by the Philippine National Bank and the volume of loans granted to them have increased.

ONE of our pressing needs is to have an adequate supply of inexpensive credit available to small businessmen and farmers at all points in the country. This need is now being met by the Philippine National Bank with its Small Loans Department in the Head Office; 10 branches in Bacolod, Iloilo, Cebu, Cabanatuan, Tarlac, Lucena, Legaspi, Davao, Dagupan, and Baguio; agencies in 47 provinces and sub-agencies in 986 municipalities.

Banks, as a rule, do not care to grant loans in small amounts, because such loans are losing propositions inasmuch as the income derived therefrom is very limited while the expenses in their granting are relatively high. However, the Philippine National Bank even at the sacrifice of profits grants small loans as low as $5 in order to help the small businessmen and farmers. Thousands of said small businessmen and farmers who have availed themselves of these small loan facilities have expressed their great satisfaction and gratitude for such assistance given them by the Philippine National Bank, assistance which they had never before enjoyed.

It would not be amiss to mention here that these small loans granted by the Philippine National Bank have also been instrumental in the suppression or at least in minimizing usury which prevailed in the past in the Manila public markets and in the provinces.

Credit has been made inexpensive through the branches and agencies established in the provinces by the Philippine National Bank, because besides the low interest rate charged on loans, any person who desires to get a loan from the Bank may file his application in the sub-agency in the municipality where he resides, thereby avoiding the traveling expenses that he has to incur were he to go to some other place to obtain the loan. Also, by means of these branches and agencies the Philippines enjoy the benefits of a branch banking system in that credit is made available at all localities where needed in the amount required, as excess funds can be transferred thereto at any time from the Head Office or from any branch or agency.

Previous to the establishment of the Philippine National Bank, the financing of foreign trade of the Philippines was in the hands of the branches of foreign banks which, naturally, were more interested in helping the nationals of their respective countries than the Filipinos. As exchange forms part of the price of the goods exported or imported and since foreigners could obtain preferential rates of exchange and facilities for foreign trade financing from their bankers, the Filipinos could not compete successfully with their foreign com-

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petitors because they had no bank where they could obtain the same preferential rates and facilities for their import and export business. Upon the organization, however, of the Philippine National Bank the disadvantages suffered by the Filipino merchants disappeared because the Philippine National Bank gives to Filipinos the same privileges and facilities as those given to foreigners by their bankers.

The protection afforded by the Philippine National Bank to our countrymen enables them to progress and explains the existence today of many successful Filipinos engaged in the import and export business.

The Food Supply

By Hilarion S. Silayan
Director of Plant Industry

LET us focus our attention on the following questions: What constitutes our food supply? Have our farmers kept up with their duty to feed the nation? Will it be possible to assure our country of all its needs for staple food grown within the confines of the Commonwealth? Is there sufficient area for the production of crops to supply an adequate amount of food? Is there a sufficient number of crops to satisfy the diversified needs of our people? What are the urgent problems in supplying food?

In my humble opinion, the answers to these questions are decidedly in favor of our farmers, and we are in a position to develop self-sufficiency in food supply because we have all the necessary resources as fertile land, favorable climate, diversified plant materials and dependable farmers.

What constitutes our food? In a general way, our food consists of fish and other marine products, meat and meat products, dairy products, poultry and poultry products; cereals, like rice and corn millet; roots, such as sweet potatoes and camoteng kahoy; fruits, such as bananas and papayas; beans, like mongo, soy-beans, and sitao; and vegetables, such as cabbage, squash, eggplant, and tomatoes.

Fish supply a great bulk of our food. We have extensive sea coasts which constitute an inexhaustible source of supply of cheap food that helps to maintain a nutritious diet for the people. Fish culture is already an extensive industry but there is still more extensive area for future exploitation of this industry in many parts of the country. The manufacturers will play a great part in exploiting this industry if investments are directed for organized fishing enterprises, the preservation or canning of fish, and for marketing and distribution.

Meat and dairy products and poultry products constitute an important part of our food supply. The records of our imports will indicate the great opportunity for developing this industry in the Philippines.

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On account of the vast area of public domain suitable for pasture, the favorable climate and good soil for growing feeds for animals and for poultry, it would be easy to produce in the Philippines all our needs in meat, dairy and poultry products. The progress which the livestock industry has achieved within the last decade in the improvement of stock indicates that there is no reason why we can not develop self-sufficiency in all of these products. While full-grown cattle are selling between $5 to $7.50 in many ranches, there are thousands of people in many cities who have to pay not less than 9 cents a pound for meat. This indicates that there is a wide field for enterprises in canning meat and in the distribution of meat and meat products.

CROPS which furnish the staple food of the Filipinos are rice, corn, sweet potatoes, cassava, and wheat. Wheat flour is increasing in importance as a food staple of the Filipinos, but only very little could be grown in the Philippines so that further use of it must depend upon importation. Rice constitutes the most important staple food; corn ranks second, and *camoteng kahoy* and *camote* follow.

Our importation of vegetables amounts to around a million dollars annually. No estimate of value can be given to locally grown vegetables, particularly those in rural districts where each farm grows vegetables. This represents the consumption of city dwellers as our rural folks use locally grown vegetables. The bulk of this importation could be raised in the Philippines. We are actually producing here practically all of these imported commodities but on a very small scale. Our recent trials proved that onions could easily be raised here to the tune of around thirty million pounds, principally to cover importation from Japan, China and Egypt. Up to 1939, the annual production of onions, due to the recently established onion growing industry, is two million pounds in Nueva Ecija alone. Garlic could be raised here without difficulty and it would require only about 400 hectares to produce locally the amount of importation. There is also a large importation of Irish potatoes. The Mountain Province, Nueva Vizcaya, Oriental Negros, the highlands of Cavite, and Lanao and other places having an altitude of about 2,000 feet above sea level could grow profitably this crop to supply the local demand. The annual importation is worth about a half million dollars. Many parts of Central Luzon could be cultivated to produce maximum yields after the close of the rainy season. There are favorable regions for the growing of said vegetables in Mindanao, the Mariquina Valley and the litoral lands along Laguna Bay, the Candaba swamps of Pampanga, the highlands of Cavite, Nueva Vizcaya, Negros Oriental and Occidental and the Mountain Province.

It is my firm conviction that present areas are sufficient to produce all our food requirements to the point of self-sufficiency if conditions can be made to insure that it pays to be a food producer and if transportation can be improved.

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Twenty-five Years Ago

World events as interpreted by The Living Age, *February 1916*

IN AN article on *Prussianism and the Poles* in the *British Review*, J. H. Harley wrote: "Prussianism in its most characteristic developments, implies and requires government from above. It carries with it an absolute distinction between the king and his nobles. Prussianism nominates a bureaucracy which manages men and women precisely as the strolling player handles his automata. The inhabitants, always under martial or semi-martial law, are hurried hither and thither as their tutors and curators desire. What right have they to suppose that they can choose their own position and destiny? If in one part of the kingdom the people become undesirable they can be extirpated and removed much in the same way that the rat-catcher plots against a new colony of his victims."

A correspondent in Russia reported in the *Spectator* that a visitor there would find one of the effects of the war was that "the will of the people was rapidly becoming the determining factor in Russian politics, and how the Duma, as expressing this, had secured for itself a growing and lasting place in their affections." In describing *The Spirit of Russia* in the *British Review*, H. Bailey wrote: "Differences of race, of religion, of philosophy, and of life all serve to kindle the animosity of the Russian for the German. The brutal materialism of the German is repugnant to the dreamy Russian; the doctrine of 'frightfulness' penetrates to the soul of the Russian and leaves him sullenly determined to emancipate Russia from the inroads of Germans and Germanism."

Discussing *Japan and the War* in the *London Quarterly Review*, St. Nihal Singh wrote: "For some time a controversy has been going on in Japan as to whether or not the Japanese troops shall be sent over to Europe to fight the Germans. . . . It would be the irony of Fate if the hordes of the Kaiser, who is insanely prejudiced against 'colored' people, should have to face the Japanese, in addition to fighting the Indians and the Senegalese. Japan has problems of her own which she must take into consideration in deciding this matter. One thing, however, is certain. Japan will not permit Germany to menace her Allies, nor once again to acquire influence in the Far East. She will exert herself to the utmost, and will consider no sacrifice too great, to accomplish that purpose."

E. J. Dillon maintained in the *Fortnightly Review* that, "The undisputed currency among the Allied peoples of outgrown political theories is among the main sources of those fatal mistakes which have enabled their enemies to score palpable successes in diplo-

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macy and war. . . . None of the public servants of the nation [England] has been lacking in any of the qualities which a nice sense of duty or an ethically trained will could bestow. And for inborn or inbred limitations no man can be held responsible. One and all they have done their best. But they stand for a system which has lost its efficacy, and is no more applicable to the present world-welter than is the law of Moses to the requirements of the twentieth century of grace. And unless that system, together with its old parliamentary doctrines, its cherished traditions of liberty, its sharply accentuated individualism, its conservative predilections and its insular illusions be speedily readjusted to the new conditions, much that is precious, not only to the race but also to civilized man generally, will be swept away into history by the Teuton tide of which the present war is but the first inrush."

Apropos *The Problem of the Adriatic*, J. A. R. Marriott wrote in the *Nineteenth Century and After*: "No redrafting of the map of Europe can be satisfactory or reasonably enduring which fails to take account of the racial affinities, the historical traditions, the religious beliefs, the economic requirements and the natural geographical definitions of the peoples who are primarily concerned. The difficulty comes when, as in the case of the Adriatic, one or more of these principles are mutually conflicting, and it is accentuated when there is a conflict of principle or even of interest between two peoples who are equally united with ourselves in the bonds of friendship and alliance." On the subject of Italy's irredentist aspirations, he quoted at some length from Virginio Gayda, as one who "puts the Italian case temperately and strongly."

In *Blackwood's Magazine*, David Hannay faced the potentials of submarine warfare with the calm conclusion that, after a year's experience, "it is at least eminently improbable that anything can happen to modify the results already obtained." His summary of the results was: "The enforcement of blockade by the submarine which cannot make prize—except when it is very near its own port—and therefore must needs destroy, has pretty certainly come to stay like the vessel itself. The Germans have failed to enforce blockade by the new method, but they have led to the establishment of the method. In judging the real significance of the failure of the so-called German 'blockade,' we have to consider first the question of numbers and then the means used to defeat the attack. It would be idle and unmanly to deny that the British Fleet has asserted its supremacy not by quality alone but also by quantity."

THE *New Statesman* dealt with Gallipoli under the title, *The End of a Great Adventure*: "The Gallipoli undertaking recalls the saying about King Charles I, that nothing in his life became him so much as the manner of his leaving it. The brilliant and complete success of the two evacuations throws a sudden glory of efficiency over an enterprise in which that particular glory had not hitherto been the most conspicuous."

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Poems of the Month

Selected by OSCAR WILLIAMS

Heroes

Where are the heroes promised in the books?
Coming with dignity, riding the crowds,
Shaking the air with plumed, commanding looks?

They are not here. Only the clowns are proud,
Beneath the gargoyled characters they wear,
To sing their solo emptiness aloud.

And as the sun draws sunflowers to stare
With large bald eyes into the face of flame,
So turn our multitudes who share

The same compelling sky, the same sweet loam;
We are those answerable to suns that spin
Hypnotic trinkets in the path of fame;

Beguiled and gently cheated, we begin
Day after day, the false admiring stare,
Drained to the root, turned watery within.

Time's pictured heroes are not anywhere;
Nor may a scrapbook claim their autographs;
All those who move with heroism here

Recount our difficult and common life;
The simple are imperial today;
A schoolyard tumbling child has had enough

Of learning tales of giants and their ways:
Since mortal families of the innocent
Deserve his imitation and his praise.

—JOHN MALCOLM BRINNIN
in NEW DIRECTIONS 1940

The Ambulant Blues

Went into a skyscraper, asked for love,
They said I'd better try the floor up above,
Thanked them politely and climbed the stair,
But I didn't find anything but thin, thin air.
Turned me around and went away,
And heard them whispering, "He didn't stay."
But there was no use in standing around
To wait for a wound.

Went to a conservatory, heard a bass
Singing that to love was a loss of face,
The audience whistled and asked for more,
But I picked up my skimmer and went out the door,
A policeman came along as I stood on the curb,
Hung a sign on me, "Please Don't Disturb."
But there was no use in standing around
To wait for a wound.

Went to a museum and saw a girl
Carved right out of a living pearl,
Tried to touch her, but the old guard said,
"You can touch all day, but she'll still stay dead."
Nodded my head and moved along,
Saw she was a statue and that I'd been wrong.
But there was no use in standing around
To wait for a wound.

Went into a cinema, asked for a seat,
Stood around waiting on my tired feet,
The screen was crowded with women and men,
But the images faded and didn't come again.
The usher came up and he waved his hand,
Said to me, "You're not the type, you'll have to stand."
But there was no use in standing around
To wait for a wound.

Went up walking in the park, every bench was full,

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Went along the ocean like a lonely gull,
Went into the country, the trees were full
of song,
But the atmosphere was heavy and I didn't
stay long.
Went upon a boat trip, a card was on my
berth,
Saying, "Better sever your connection with
the earth.
There's no use in standing around
To wait for a wound."

Walked across some bridges, planned to
take a dive,
Couldn't see a reason for remaining alive,
Water looked up, said, "Whatever you do,
Don't bother me, and I won't bother you."
Tore up my note, and came back home,
I'll sit here and die, and nevermore roam.
For there's no use in moving around
In search of a wound.

—HARRY BROWN
in THE END OF A DECADE,
The Poet of the Month Series

Austrian Requiem

Who are the kings with diamonds in their
eyes
Mopping and mowing among our private
shadows?
Not to the syringa or the rose can we turn
But meet their miseries flowering its sor-
rows.
Also evening is their grief and morning is
The term of their mourning time; spring
and summer
Elaborate the acanthus of their anger, and
Formidable against the wall their tall bliss
Kisses goodbye the kingdom that grows
dimmer.
The gold on their shoulders is the sun, and
Union is their sceptre, snapt. The dove is
here,
Sorrowing in silence for its stolen olive,
Circling in misery's haloes over
-head. And at their eyes the diamonds of
tears
Makes beyond price the vengeance that is
theirs.

I drum on the time their bloody assassina-
tion,
Whom the autumnal mountains remember,
when
Mist hides the Austrian face in a lamenta-
tion
Of geography over history. Time is with
them,
The murdered kings who lived in the Marx
House,
Time is with them more than Egyptian
corpses
To tell their story, Time is more with
them.
Today is funeral with hours of wreaths
Honoring the eagle who could sing like
water
To the tune of violins and the rumor of
waltzes,
The gay bird, the gold bird, the bird of
laughter.

Who now in the mountains with the music
of Mozart
Gazes with eyeballs needled, making not
sweeter
But falser the music that festoons the
mountains.
The sickbed of Freud is carried into the
streets;
The Danube is obstructed with the bodies
of suicides
Locked in last love or big with the gas of
fear,
Floating easily away to freedom on the
tides,
Leaving the living here, on a doomed
star.
Sadly in the Tyrolean valleys the
bells
Of the goats echo sadly, Austria, Austria.

Now with the lamentation of an illustrious
nation
Join the celebration of its ultimate libera-
tion.
The Austrian strong man pinioned among
the pillars
Pulls down around him the column of sub-
jugation.
The crocus breaks the rock, the eagle from
its errors
Arises and inscribes liberty on the skies:
The Socialist kings step from their red
tombs

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Where history was not forgotten, armed with pain,
Staking the claim of blood over their homes
Where the dove, waiting, shakes out its wings and brings
Beautiful Union a branch and sceptre. Again,
O Austria, Austria, wandering in valleys—

Who are the kings with flowers for fingers
With whom you then idle in the summer fields,
Who wear their death like a transfiguration?
Not then the funeral, but a bluebell in the eye
Echoes a greater Austria: these are the nation
Whose April shower of lamentation yields
A summer of blood, but autumn return of glory:
Whose sex of Vienna, once gay with amorous thousands,
Gelded by Nazi March, now is their own mausoleum.
But not for long, O lachrymatory of Democracy!
Not here where Salzburg, like a bird of mythology,
Rose whistling from the fires of Kaisered Europe,
Not here the howitzer shall assume permanent dominion.
But the sweet syringa shall burst from the corner
Where a brute buried it; the lyrical opinions
Of the dove murmur again, the summertime comer:
The avalanche disappear, and Love appear
Like Venus from clouds, and where a misery was
The ridiculous city of music shimmer there.

—George Barker
in HORIZON MAGAZINE (London)

House of Chimeras

Always when the door opened such surprise
Clouded imagination; when we walked
Through the long drawing room; the summer seemed to fall
With a quick shimmer on the ground.

And flushed the wine-gold carpets, colored our fear
With chimeras and delusions; in that world
Only the life sized portraits on the wall
Glowed in fantastic life, forever clutching roses.

We always looked for a sign, for a word, for a banner
For a God's name in whose great sign we conquer,
But nothing seemed to answer, no one at all
Though One sat in the room forever writing letters.

Troubled with thought, the pure profile, the priceless pearls;—
Pale on her pale satin, pale against dark eyes,
Breathing awhile, watching the long days fall
From the long windows to a sleepless sea.

The amazing letters! sealed, signed, posted
Sent to what destination? what far country?
We never asked, noon cast a silver pall
Over the hours, night always found us waiting,

For the white daisy fields to shine, for the wild rose
To open and expose its heart of gold,
In morning light, small rivers seemed to call
In spinet music toward a rushing water.

And always voices silenced suddenly:
In the long corridors, near the marble fountains,
The garden voices of hope in every hall
The male, the female voices, hushed and homesick.

—Marya Zaturenska
in FURIOSO

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Speaking of Books

By LEON BRYCE BLOCH

THE invasion of Holland by the Nazis was a cataclysm which deeply stirred all Americans. We were moved by a jumble of emotion compounded of pity, anger, horror, disgust and resolution, complicated in most cases by a feeling of wrathful impotence.

That was at the time of the occupation. Since then we have had ample time to view the matter in more contemplative objectivity. Now thoughtful Americans, who view the invasion of Holland without preconceived bias or political prejudice, see in it an object lesson on the price of lassitude, uncertainty and inaction.

Brought home with telling force is this lesson, by *Juggernaut Over Holland*. This brief volume is almost a confession story—an admission of mistakes of omission—by the erstwhile foreign minister of Holland, E. N. van Kleffens.

Mr. van Kleffens writes with disarming simplicity and directness. In fact, at times he seems almost too naïve to be a statesman. But I believe that this appearance of naïveté arises from his overanxiety to present his story without hysteria or the coloration of propaganda. It achieves the effect of arousing impatience with the apparently blind refusal of the Netherlands government to perceive the real danger.

The Netherlands are called "Peace Island" in the book. Perhaps the term was coined before Edna St. Vincent Millay wrote her epic poem *There Are No Islands Any More*. In any event, Mr. van Kleffens' country was apparently marked for destruction from the beginning of the Nazi conquest of Czechoslovakia; the official family apparently was aware of this fact; its foreign policy was apparently that of the ostrich.

Mr. van Kleffens is at great pains to explain that Holland never deviated one iota from a hundred-year-old foreign policy of strict neutrality. As if that were a virtue. He points out that the small nations of Europe were gobbled up by Hitler, piecemeal. Yet as foreign minister he held to a policy of neutrality and isolationism, even while his neighbors were being robbed and assaulted.

What seems most clear in reading this book is the fact that alone these nations were easy prey, together they might have been a real power. And an interesting observation, to Americans, is made by Mr. van Kleffens when he tells of the Nazi attempt to justify the invasion by untruthfully alleging that Holland had been unneutral. He says:

" . . . it is difficult to see why the Germans did not at once declare war on the United States."

The answer, Mr. van Kleffens, is

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simple. That would have involved too much danger, and Mr. Hitler plays only fairly sure bets.

However, the highest military and statesmen have repeatedly told us that Hitler will attack us if and when the moment becomes propitious. Mr. van Kleffens' book thoroughly bolsters that contention. It seems to have this effect unwittingly, without the author's intent. But I cannot believe that this extremely competent statesman could have been unaware of the implication inherent in his words.

Aside from the warning this book serves on the entire non-belligerent world, it is interesting in that it recounts the unbelievable tactics employed by the German government vis-à-vis Holland. The step by step procedure of civil and military branches of that government were always high-handed and unreasonable, and sometimes inhumane. To make matters worse, there was not, here, even a semblance of reason on grounds of military necessity. There is only one conclusion the book permits—and that has already been reached in America—the Nazis wish to mouth empty phrases about international law for the purpose of pouring salt into the wounds of aggression, at the same time refusing to recognize the existence of international law—or any other law of civilized man. No better summation can be found than Mr. van Kleffens gives in this book, in the chapter called ironically, "The Bolt From the Blue." He says:

"Truly it is difficult to find a more complete reversal of the normal standards of civilized communities. Woe betide the world in which the Nazi, with this retrograde conception of international intercourse, holds a dominating position. Here is a demonstration *ad oculos* of what the democracies stand for—are fighting for."

JUGGERNAUT OVER HOLLAND. *By E. N. van Kleffens. New York: Columbia University Press. 1941. 195 pages. $2.00.*

•

TO SING WITH THE ANGELS. *By Maurice Hindus. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1941. 586 pages. $2.75.*

Maurice Hindus has written an important document, in novel form, and called it *To Sing With the Angels.* It is the story of the attempted enslavement of the Czech people by the Nazis—a not too successful effort. As his medium he uses the people of the soil, a people who were living in contentment before the military hordes of Hitler descended.

But it is not the story of the Czechs alone, but rather the pattern of the hopes of mankind. The village of Liptowitse epitomizes the nation and the world. There is a love-story employed as the vehicle upon which rides stark tragedy, brutality and hope for the future imbedded in the heroic determination of millions of individual souls—a determination to live on, and love and work and some day to throw off the outer restraints.

SECOND WIND. *By Carl Zuckmayer. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1940. 289 pages. $2.50.*

Carl Zuckmayer has written an autobiographical story of his rise to the position of one of Germany's outstanding playrights and his *Second Wind* here in America. There is a clear contrast presented between the Second and Third Reich, the hope of the twenties and the despair and chaos which followed. Mr. Zuckmayer

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traces his flight to Austria and his escape after anschluss.

This story is rooted in the soil. In the vineyards Carl Zuckmayer had his roots, roots which drew upon the deep culture of the soil of Germany for great creative work. In the confusion of the twenties he went to Austria, where again he tried to take root. But not for long, for after fifteen years he was forced to move again, this time fleeing for his life.

Now he is in America, filled with hope that he can come to full flowering here.

AMERICA AND A NEW WORLD ORDER. *Graeme K. Howard. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. 121 pages. $2.00.*

Mr. Howard, who is vice chairman of the Foreign Trade Council, advances the thesis that the international malaise of the world is nothing more than a reflection of the internals ills of the United States, which in a word consist of the inevitable dislocations provoked by "the struggles of individuals for equality of opportunity" and a more tolerable existence. The American problem requires for resolution three cardinal remedies, involving ethics, economics and politics. "We must get right with ourselves, morally as well as economically, before we can contribute to the solution of the international problem." Once this is accomplished, we can "contribute progressively to equality of opportunity for all peoples of the world."

Another contribution to the literature of panaceas, but a degree more thoughtful and informed than the current crop.

THE ECONOMICS OF FORCE. *By Frank Munk. New York: George W. Stewart. 1940. 254 pages. $2.00.*

The "new" economic order, or rather the re-establishment of the old feudalistic system of permanent economic disorder, semi-slavery and inflexible castes would follow the destruction of what, until recently, was called capitalism but which during the present war was dubbed democratic plutocracy or "pluto-democracy." This is the conclusion reached in Mr. Munk's analysis of the economic forces unleashed by the totalitarian war against Western civilization. Much more than political and territorial conquests—the object of all former wars—is attempted by the aggressors, he says. The economic subjugation of all other nations and races for the profit of the "master races," and of the masses of the "master race" to the will of the master caste within that race, is the Nazi purpose. To achieve this purpose Hitler adopted Leon Trotsky's idea of "permanent revolution." According to Hitler, "The revolution cannot be ended . . . we are eternal revolution. We shall never allow ourselves to be held down to one permanent condition." Many pet theories of Marx and the various conflicting Marxist schools are faced down by disproving facts. For example, one of the oldest Marxist conceptions—the theory that capitalism is the main cause of war—is smashed. Mr. Munk points out that capitalism became increasingly timid after World War I, and now is one of the most potent forces for appeasement, and of opposition to energetic measures of defense. Mr. Munk, a Czech, has written a book of permanent value.

YEARS OF ART: THE STORY OF THE ART STUDENTS LEAGUE OF NEW YORK. *By Marchal E. Landgren. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company. 1940. 267 pages. with index. $4.50.*

America's best known art school began as an offshoot of the National Academy of Design in 1875. Yet the Art Students League started with no radical departure from Academy theory and practice. Its first president even returned to teach in the Academy. In this respect, the League bears little resemblance to the insurgent groups which arose in Europe with Impressionism and actively fought academic formulae. In America aesthetic issues have never created the hot conflicts characteristic of French art. As a result, we have avoided the more bizzare manifestations of this intensity, and we have failed to develop the experimental daring and freedom of the European artists of the *avant-garde.*

Mr. Landgren's story of the Art Students'

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League, well documented and pleasantly written, reveals the tendency of advanced American artists of the eighties and nineties to fight on other than aesthetic issues. The League pioneered in admitting women to its Board of control and to life classes in the nude; and from the beginning it was student controlled and managed. It ran into Anthony Comstock on the right of the artist to draw nudes, took the issue to court and won.

The seventy-two plates represent the work of men and women who have taught at the League in the past six decades. Many of these are famous in American art. For some reason, however, the work of several important teachers has been omitted; and in many cases those who are included are not represented by their best work. On the whole, however, the collection reveals the derivative quality of American art in general. Europeans think of us as reckless, daring and inventive, and we are all that in things of the twentieth century. But painting and sculpture are mankind's oldest arts. A tradition thousands of years old endows the European artist with a sense of confidence and mastery which gives him the courage to make innovations. Because our plastic arts go back only to the eighteenth century, we have been daring only in those arts which are close to the machine: newspaper and magazine illustration, photography and the film. The present situation in Europe, however, has made America the world's art center, and we are very likely to see great new developments.

THE END OF A DECADE. *By Harry Brown. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. The-Poet-of-the-Month Series. 1940. 32 pages. Paper 35c. Cloth $1.00.*

The-Poet-of-the-Month Series published by *New Directions* is one of the most interesting poetry projects on view so far for 1941, and Harry Brown's book seems to be as promising as any that are scheduled to come. As a first book of poems it is impressive in spite of its slimness. It begins with a poem, *1939*, and ends with a poem called *1940*. These appear the weakest in the book, and largely because their influences are too apparent.

In the body of *The End of a Decade*, some really exciting poems are to be found. In the poem *Travel Film, in Technicolor* the poet arrives with ease at a lasting conclusion

"We had wanted to show you truth, but truth photographs badly."

and the poem builds up with power. In *The Ambulant Blues* (quoted in "Poems of the Month") the light ballad structure hides a deadly seriousness and tackles the problem of the individual facing realities.

The disturbing fault in this first volume, we think, is the obvious effort of the poet to be sophisticated and serious. But, in the main, Mr. Brown promises to keep his potentialities and in the meantime is engaged, with Dunstan Thompson, in the lively job of editing that new and refreshing poetry magazine *Vice Versa*.

FIVEFOLD AID TO BRITAIN. *To Save Her and Keep Us out of War. By Fritz Sternberg. New York: John Day Co. Illustrated with charts and drawings. 1940. 76 pages. $1.00.*

Our snug confidence in the inevitability of the victory of Great Britain, which "loses all the battles except the last," will be greatly shaken by the depressing figures and diagrams presented by Dr. Sternberg, a recognized authority on military economics and war potentials and a frequent contributor to such magazines as the (British) *Army Quarterly*, and the *Royal Air Force Quarterly*. On the basis of German, British and American official figures, he shows the great inadequacy of our present contribution of war materials for the defense of Great Britain. Particularly impressive are his diagrams showing how Germany, with the help of the occupied territories and Sweden, now produces much more steel, more coal, more aluminum, etc., than the British Empire, which means that England faces inevitable defeat unless American supplies begin to reach England very soon in five times the current quantity. In England and Germany four hours a day per worker are given

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to war industries (which in view of the difference in population is greatly to the disadvantage of England) the United States gives for defense purpose only fifteen minutes of each work day. To prevent the defeat and conquest of England America will have to give a full hour of each work day to defense industry, Mr. Sternberg says. The book is disturbing, but convincing.

JONATHAN SWIFT, GIANT IN CHAINS. *By Frank Stier Goodwin. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1940. 441 pages, bibliography and index. $3.00.*

It is an old argument, the one concerning whether men make the age or the age makes the men. In any case, it is difficult to imagine Jonathan Swift in any period other than his own, though his most famous work, *Gulliver's Travels*, is by no means a period piece.

At the end of the seventeenth century in England there was only one career open for a young man with good connections but no fortune—the church. Jonathan Swift possessed exactly the combination of intellectual brilliance and political ability which should have enabled him to reach the heights of his profession. (Religious convictions, other than a sound orthodoxy, were not requisites.) Ironically, he never achieved more than an Irish deanery in spite of his outstanding services to the Tories, because his youthful wit overreached itself. His patron and employer, Sir William Temple, warned him against the publication of the satirical *Tale of a Tub*, but young Swift's pride of authorship was such that he could not forbear to publish it anonymously. It brought him the fame that he desired but it shocked the good—and stodgy—Queen Anne, who found it immoral and irreligious. Even at the height of Swift's influence as adviser to her Tory ministers, she would never receive him at court, and she set herself firmly against his advancement in the English church. She finally made him Dean of St. Patrick's only under great pressure and much against her own wishes.

Of Swift's relations with Stella and Vanessa, Mr. Goodwin writes, "Despite every effort at sifting all available evidence, the exact facts in each case remain to a large extent cloaked in mystery—and probably will continue so." It may be said, however, that in his dealings with them, Swift consulted only his own comfort and convenience and that in return they both adored him. For his sake, Stella accepted exile in Ireland, even when for years at a time Swift was away in London. He finally rewarded her with the cold comfort of a formal, but secret, marriage.

Mr. Goodwin's biography deals mainly with Swift's political and personal relationships rather than attempting to evaluate him critically as an author. This treatment heightens the interest value of the book and saves it from the danger of stodginess which catches up with so many tomes of this kind.

An excellent piece of workmanship.

REASON, SOCIAL MYTHS, AND DEMOCRACY. *By Sidney Hook. New York: John Day and Company. 1940. 302 pages. $3.00.*

PROFESSOR Sidney Hook sets forth in three of these revised and reprinted essays the principles which guide his thinking and serve him as a touchstone. His "credo" is one of passionate faith in radical democracy, conceived as the only form of society in which cultural values and individual liberties can flourish. Democracy must be safeguarded, Professor Hook urges, by the application to political thought of the method of experimental science. Ideals and policies are to be considered hypotheses and evaluated in terms of the activity in which they may be expected to issue. Justice could be done to the program of one of the acutest and most vigorous of contemporary social philosophers only by lengthy quotation for which space is lacking in a review of this generally polemical book.

Except for severe criticisms of Mr. Thurman Arnold and M. Maritain, the discussion largely deals with various aspects of Marxian socialism, the "dream" that was destroyed by German Social Democracy and, above all, by Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky. Adapting the title of Croce's book on Hegel, Mr. Hook calls one of his essays

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"What is Living and Dead in Marxism." These terms may, in a sense, be applied to the author's own development. He was once known as the most learned of revolutionary interpreters of Karl Marx, but he has since found the values of historic socialism to be demonetized by the philosophy of John Dewey. Mr. Hook exposes to solvent analysis the comprehensive agglomeration of illusions and misconceptions that make up the canons of traditional Marxism. Several studies do justice to dialectical philosophy, the foundation stone of the Marxist system. One of them, the examination of Engels' classical presentations of dialectical materialism, will, I should imagine, be recognized as a definitive refutation of this form of neo-Hegelian charlatanism.

Everyone has heard of dialectical materialism, but no one seems to know what is meant by the expression. Professor Hook clears the air. Engels, as he shows, uses the term "dialectic" in seven senses which enjoy varying degrees of compatibility with one another. The seventh meaning identifies the dialectic method with that of science. (Since Engels' understanding of science was antiquated at the moment he revealed it, the task of finding in contemporary research "a progressive vindication of the doctrines of the founding fathers" is beset with difficulties.) The view of the dialectic as scientific method is quite irreconcilable with its primary sense. Taken in this primary sense, dialectical materialism, it may be suggested, is a variant of what Santayana has called "the higher superstition, the notion that nature dances to the tune of some comprehensive formula or some magic rhyme." To it the world is "an oracle or charade, concealing a dramatic unity . . . or maxim, which all experience exists to illustrate." Engels' three dialectical "laws" — "the identity of contradictories," "the negation of negations," and "the transition of quantity to quality and *vice versa*"—embody a universal constitutive principle realizing itself in nature, history and thought, and lending itself to everything but definition.

—*Weltwoche*, Zurich

Such is the mythology that offers a basis of cosmic support to the murky obscurantism of Communist speculation and bestows the dignity and sanction of immanent necessity upon the shifty dodges of Soviet leaders. Another group of dialectical materialists whom Mr. Hook pursues like an avenging angel is made up of several eminent British scientists. These illuminati have given utterance to "some of the choicest bits of nonsense in contemporary philosophy"—an impressive statement. But Professor Hook makes his point with the select anthology of nonsense he produces. Some of this writing, we are told, can be compared only to the effusions of the *Naturphilosophen* of German romanticism, whom Engels claimed as inspired precursors. To Engels, Newton was an inductive donkey.

After he has purged it of its dogmas, Mr. Hook rescues an undeveloped "living kernel" in dying Marxism. This kernel, elevated and safeguarded by all that Mr. Hook has learned from non-Marxist sources still constitutes "a promising social philosophy," and should still inspire political activity looking toward an "essentially socialized economy." Since he is not primarily concerned with "what Marx really meant," and is prepared to abandon the term "Marxist" because of its connotations, the original undeveloped kernel will hardly appear significant to per-

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sons who have remained immune to the charms of Karl Marx; and Mr. Hook will seem the victim of penitent disloyalty. On his own showing, Marxism, a dazzling exotic in recent discussion, may be considered neither living nor dead, but simply irrelevant. For when he wishes to display what is "sound" in Marx, he is impelled to refer to its exemplary expression in the non-Marxist work of non-Marxist humanitarians. Professor John Dewey, in particular, says Mr. Hook, independently developed "the best elements of Marx's thought . . . and systematically elaborated (them) beyond anything found in Marx."

The Marxist "critique of ideology," apparently an important Deweyan element, is mentioned in one of Mr. Hook's affirmative essays as an example of empirical approach to the vicious abstractions which bedevil political thought. There is no other reference to Marx in Mr. Hook's program, but when he writes, "The starting point of social theory as well as its terminus should be specific social problems, not the construction of systems," the ground is cut from under the great dogmatist's feet. The reader is not surprised when on one occasion the authority of John Stuart Mill is appealed to, for Mr. Hook's thematic essays as well as the general spirit of his analysis seem to link him with the English empirical tradition.

—ALBERT LIPPMAN

UNDERSTANDING PICASSO. A Study of His Styles and Development. *By Helen F. Mackenzie. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1940. $2.00.*

PICASSO. *By Jean Cassou. Translated from the French by Mary Chamont. New York: The Hyperion Press. 1940. 160 Plates and Bibliography. $4.00.*

THE material in this portfolio grew out of a supplementary exhibition held in connection with the recent Picasso show, which the Museum of Modern Art sent to the Chicago Art Institute. In an effort to make Picasso more intelligible to the public, large colored screens, each representing a period of Picasso's work, were set up in the Gallery of Art Interpretation. Each screen contained a reproduction of a major work in a period surrounded by documented photographs and drawings showing historical parallels. As an experiment in art education, this method demonstrates how much more satisfactory a visual guide can be than written text. Miss Mackenzie in her foreword carefully refrains from suggesting that any of the examples reproduced necessarily influenced Picasso directly, but she endeavors to point out interesting comparisons: "similar styles, devices and conventions, in the hope that a study of these comparisons may help in the understanding of the many variations of the versatile Picasso."

In the early Paris period, at the beginning of the century, the parallels speak for themselves. Picasso's relationship to the social impressionists of the *fin de siècle*—Manet, Toulouse-Lautrec and Forain—is the admiring imitation of a young artist confronted with his masters. But in the Blue Period, we see how Picasso already strikes an original chord and finds his inspiration in Spanish sources. More illuminating is the fact that in his so-called Negroid Period he is not far from the Catalonian frescoes of the twelfth century. El Greco, Cézanne, and Negro sculpture are the peculiar blend by which Picasso arrived at Cubism, yet these influences by no means exhaust the momentuousness of his discovery.

We see clearly how the Russian ballet and his work for it lead him back to the human form and thence to an exploration of classic sources, beginning with Ingres and moving back to the Greeks. From this preoccupation, he was lead into the world of imagination and his so-called Surrealist Period. Again we see that this style is not out of the void but closely analogous to Spanish miniatures of the tenth century from Mozarabic codices. It is plain that Picasso's linealism and his savage fantasy is deeply rooted in his Iberian past.

One of the most interesting plates in the portfolio is the one called "Crucifixions." For some years Picasso has been obsessed with that great masterpiece of the Reformation, the Crucifixion of Mathias Gruenewald. It has always seemed to me that Gruenewald rather than Goya was the

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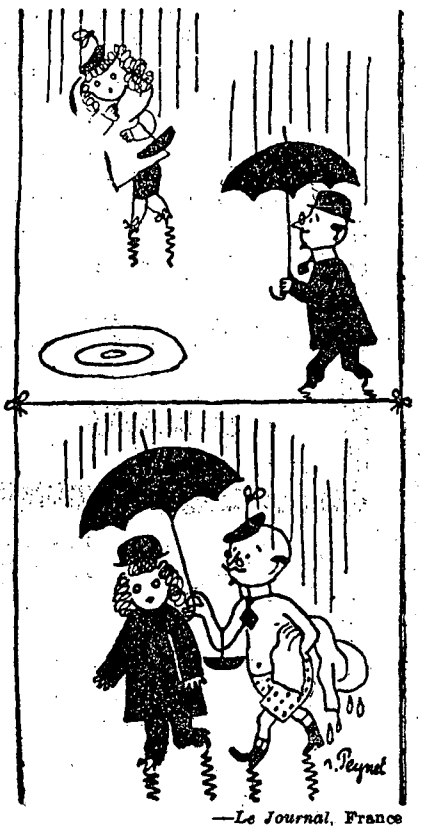
keystone to the Guernica mural. A series of drawings in the bone period (1927-32) offers various analyses of Gruenewald's historic altarpiece. Here the way leads directly to the drawings out of which the Guernica mural was evolved. Interesting to note that Guernica like the early examples of Cubism is a study in monochrome and that in the latest works of Picasso, color comes into its own again as it did in synethic Cubism.

In the struggle to strike out on a new path, it seems as if Picasso must dispense with color and only when the form has been clarified is he free to let his emotions flow and color come into its own again. Never has his color been so rich and the form as free as in the last works of 1939.

When one has summed up all the many historical parallels in his painting, it may be necessary to say again that Picasso has never imitated the dead letter of the past but always extracted out of the living forces and reinterpreted them in his own personal terms in the spirit of the twentieth century.



—*Le Journal*, France

HERE in one volume, an attempt has been made to sum up forty years of Picasso's work. One of the last books to come out of France, it was reprinted in New York City by lithographic process. This explains the loss of some tonal values in the 160 well chosen plates, which illustrate chronologically the development of Picasso's art. The volume is of particular merit, because it is a matter of conjecture whether Picasso can continue to create under present European conditions. In any case, 1940 is bound to mark a sharp break in his work, which now can be judged with some measure of detachment.

In an introductory essay, Jean Cassou has written a penetrating and sympathetic study of Picasso's work. In particular his references to Picasso's Spanish origins are of interest. He points out the spiritual relationship between the painter and that wierd, fantastic Catalan architect, Antoni Gaudi, whose monstrous modern buildings give Barcelona its strange appearance.

Born in Spain and early transplanted to France, Picasso has been the storm centre of controversy since 1909. No contemporary artist has been so difficult to comprehend because of the variety of his work and its detachment from illustrative matter. Yet no contemporary artist has been so successful and popular. Even people who dislike his art benefit from his plastic discoveries in the objects of daily use. All of this is of no consequence to their creator, who has continued to follow his own path.

In leafing through these plates, one finds a bewildering panorama of plastic images drawn from the universal storehouse of art and attached to no particular environment in time or space. Yet underneath this "monstrously unclassifiable succession" one discerns an underlying unity, which Jean Cassou declares is "the effect of a conscience, a durable will pursuing its exercise with prodigious constancy."

This will is Spanish. Havelock Ellis once defined Spanish art as "the expression in painting of a combative and warlike temperament, the transformation into art of *valour*." No better definition could be applied to Picasso's work.

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Picasso is the last and most heroic exponent of the western tradition in painting. At times, gay, frivolous, capricious, even malicious to the amazement of his humorless admirers, he can be austerely tragic when confronted with the spectacle of man and his passions. For in all his historic researches into pictorial reality, he has remained acutely aware of the human being as the central theme of his art. In this sense, he is the last of the humanists in a world of chaos and destruction. Because he has divined the secret of tapping not only his own unconscious but the collective unconscious of our past, his work retains a unifying harmony and freedom which makes it not only an end but a beginning.

The appended bibliography gives the reader some notion of the astonishing number of books already published on Picasso.

—Charmion von Wiegand

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The Living Age Retracts . . . .

In a review of the book, *Suicide of a Democracy*, by Heinz Pol (New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1940), published in *The Living Age* for January 1941, statements appeared inferring that the translators of this book, Heinz and Ruth Norden, were responsible for the alleged omission from the book of certain material, either "on their own initiative," or by persuading the author "to omit it from the manuscript, in order not to embarrass some near and distant friends." We find that the reviewer had no basis for these assertions.

We have found neither evidence of, nor reason for any statement, that the translators influenced in any way the editorial selection of the text of *Suicide of a Democracy*, and the reviewer seems to have had no basis for supposing that the translators had any connection with the book, beyond translating it from the original German in which it was written.

The Living Age deeply regrets any reflection upon the professional integrity of Heinz and Ruth Norden. It voluntarily publishes this retraction and correction in the interest of fair play.

—The Editors

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BOOKS ABROAD

THE NOBLEST PRESIDENT

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THE GREAT AMERICAN. *By Sven Vikberg. Stockholm: Fritzes. 1940.*

(G. O. N. in the *Svenska Dagbladet*, Stockholm)

IT IS quite natural that interest in American matters is increasing in the book market. But, it cannot be said that, considering the interest which literature takes in historical subjects, the little man's chances to judge for himself are greatly increased. The history of the Union is short, but as multi-colored as that of few other countries, rich in sudden changes and turns and filled with steep upward and downward curves. He who studies this history will find himself delving into a chronicle in which bigness and smallness; foresight and dissipation; corruption and honest, hard, work cross and recross each other's paths until they are inextricably blended together. Therefore, a work such as the Swedish translation of Adams' excellent *Epic of America* demands great interest and a great love of history.

Vikberg has, in the opinion of the reviewer, chosen the right way in his Lincoln biography. He has left the fine points to experts and has stuck to material which the general reader is able to understand. He supports his book on a firm basis, describes in a concise and easy manner background and characters and presents a well-rounded picture of the elementary conflict during the middle of the nineteenth century when the Union—so to speak—was founded for a second time. With this period one must be thoroughly acquainted if one wants to understand the U.S.A. of today.

The fight between slave-owning Southern culture and Northern industrialism found its climax in the bloody Civil War of 1860-65. The North profited by its outcome, and forces were released which created the present-day U.S.A. There is no doubt that the abolition of slavery was bought at an exorbitant price, especially in cultural matters. Besides, the motives of the North were hardly altruistic. Their un-

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relenting clamor for higher duties upon the import of European machinery was perhaps one of the most important causes of the South's declaration of independence.

However, no shadow falls upon Lincoln. Vikberg who, in an upright manner withstands all temptation to smooth over and beautify things, proves immovable in this one point. There is not the slightest doubt about Lincoln's honesty and moral qualities which were almost unbelievable, if measured by the political standards of his time.

There is something fascinating about Lincoln's rather colorless life history. There is hardly anything sparkling in the tale of

—*Daily Sketch*, London

the artisan, the store clerk, the self-educated small-town lawyer who climbed up to the country's highest position and who, through his resoluteness and unusual will power, saved the Union. Lincoln's surroundings had very little to give him—and also do not interest the reader very much. His wife was rather narrow-minded, and the politicians whom he met on his way, and whom he either encouraged or discouraged, are not interesting enough to warrant closer inspection. Against such a trivial background, stands out in sharp relief Lincoln's tall and bony figure.

His death at the moment of his highest triumph might be called, without overstatement, a national catastrophe. This noblest of all Presidents who wanted to heal and reconciliate had to make room for vindictiveness and narrow-mindedness in Washington. Nevertheless, the question may be put whether Lincoln's life does not bear witness to the American people's moral qualities. Those in the U.S.A. who reso-

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THE abundant literature inspired by problems posed by the war, and dealing with the future of America, has been enriched by this volume (*La Gran Crisis y la Necesidad de una Confederacion Pan-Americana*) by the Cuban scholar, J. L. Abalo. The present book differs from many other works on the same subject in that, while it is an organic study of great depth and scope, it also treats in detail of the organization of the proposed confederation.

The first part of the study is a theoretical analysis of the world crisis—the "cyclical crisis," to use the author's phrase—and sets out to explain the present conflict after an essay on economic philosophy. The second part is an exposition of the basic ideas, principles and the benefits that would exist in a Pan-American Confederation, and touches upon the technical-functional form that a Pan-American government would take, and deals with such questions as the sovereignty of the confederation, the exercise of federal justice, legislation, processes of government, economic organization and defense problems of bases, the federal army, etc., etc. The most substantial part of this volume, however, is the author's discussion of economic reconstruction. Abalo gives exhaustive consideration to this aspect of the question, and states his conviction that a political structure of this magnitude must have a sound economic basis if it is to survive.

There are reasons why study of this work is particularly recommended. Its vision is broad but still realistic, and its ideas are certain to stimulate interest in the subject in the two Americas. More important, it should contribute in large measure to the crystallization of still vague aspirations for such a confederation.

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